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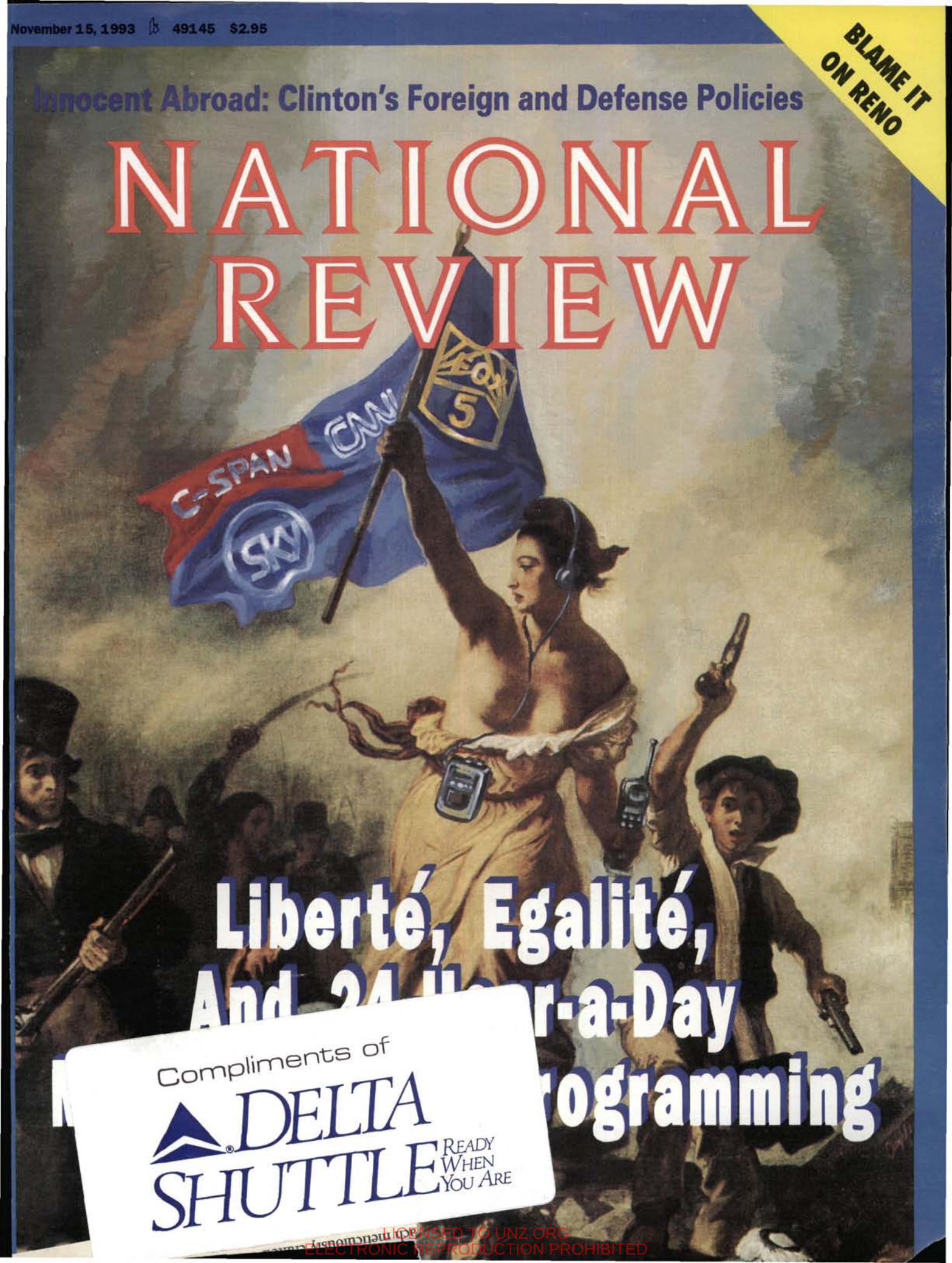

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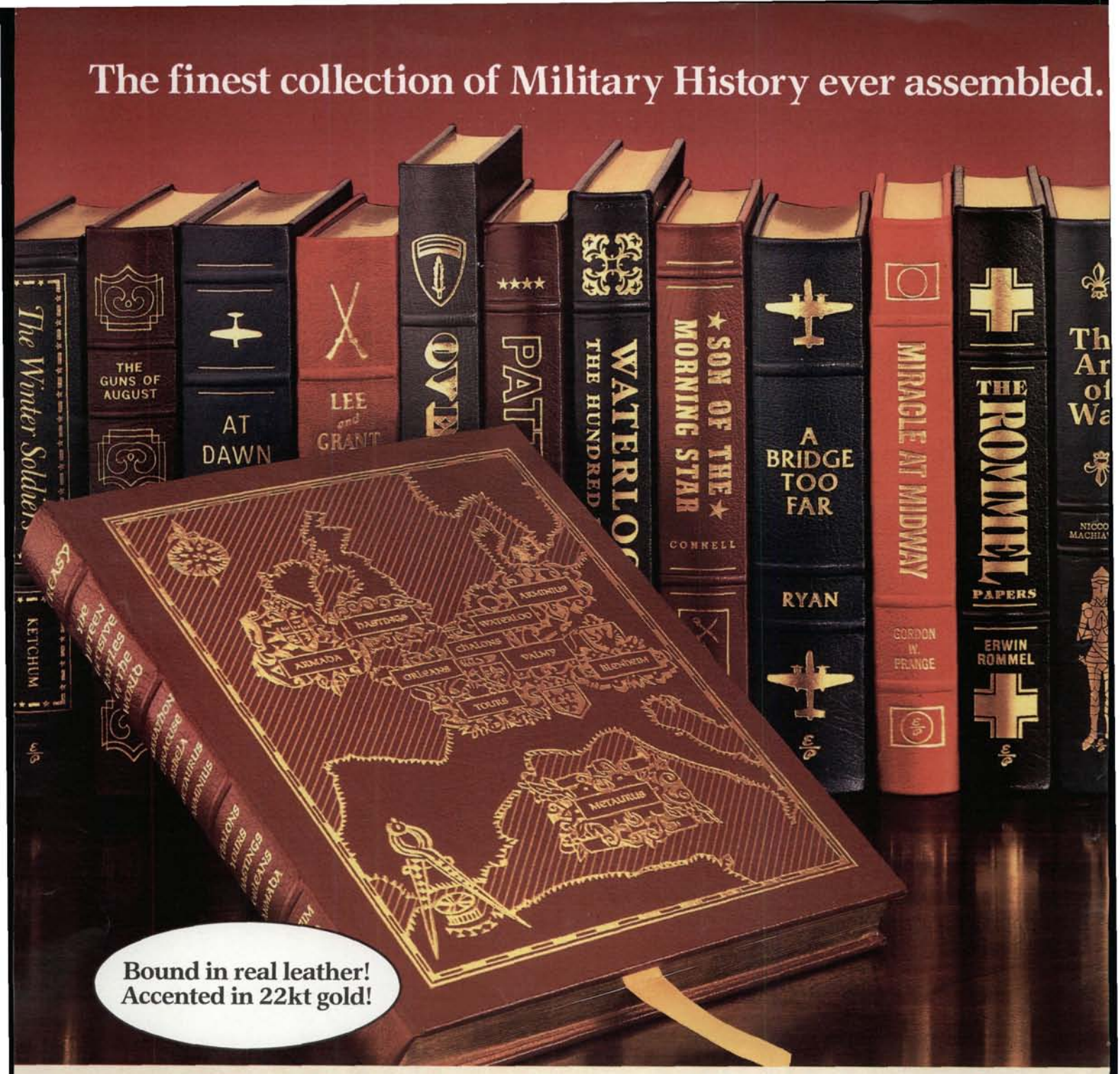

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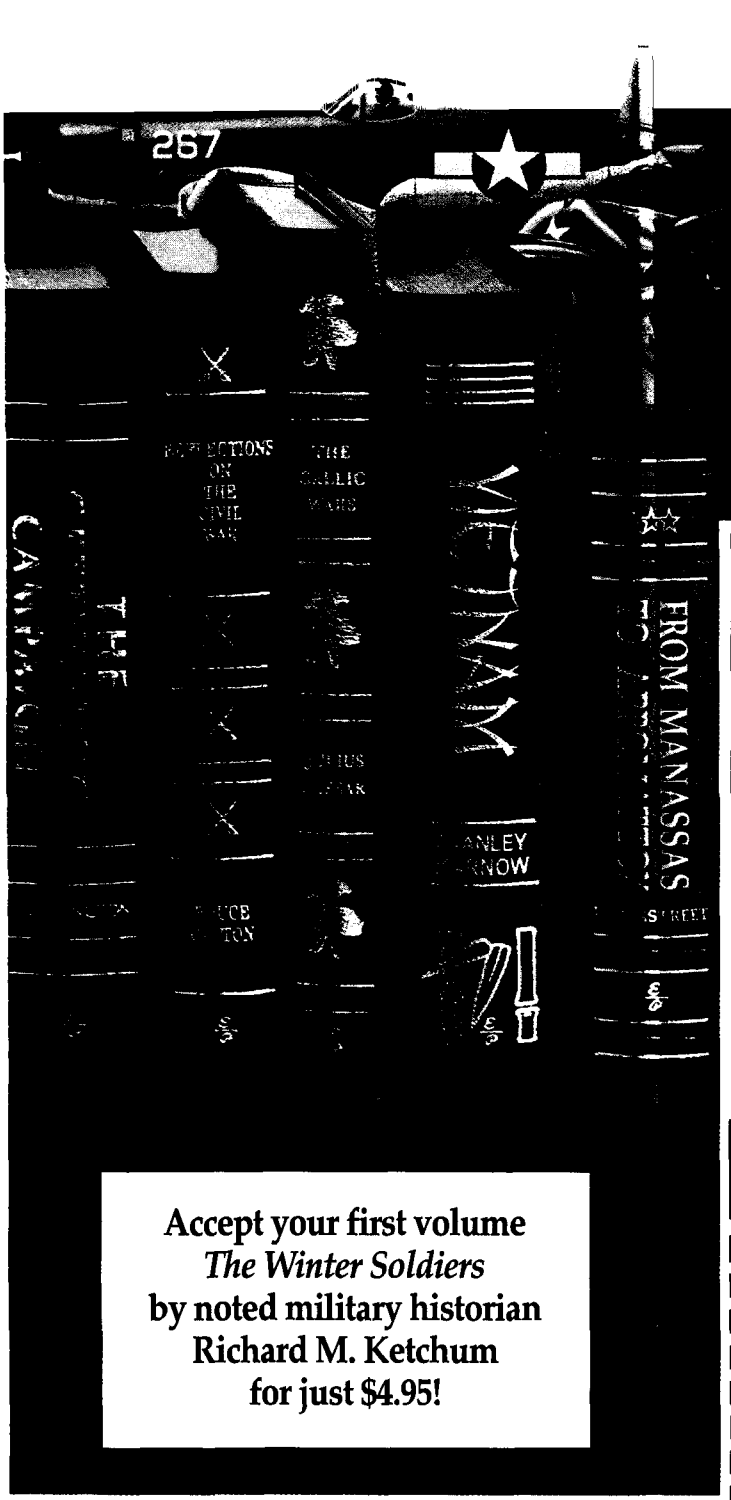

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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The Audit Bureau

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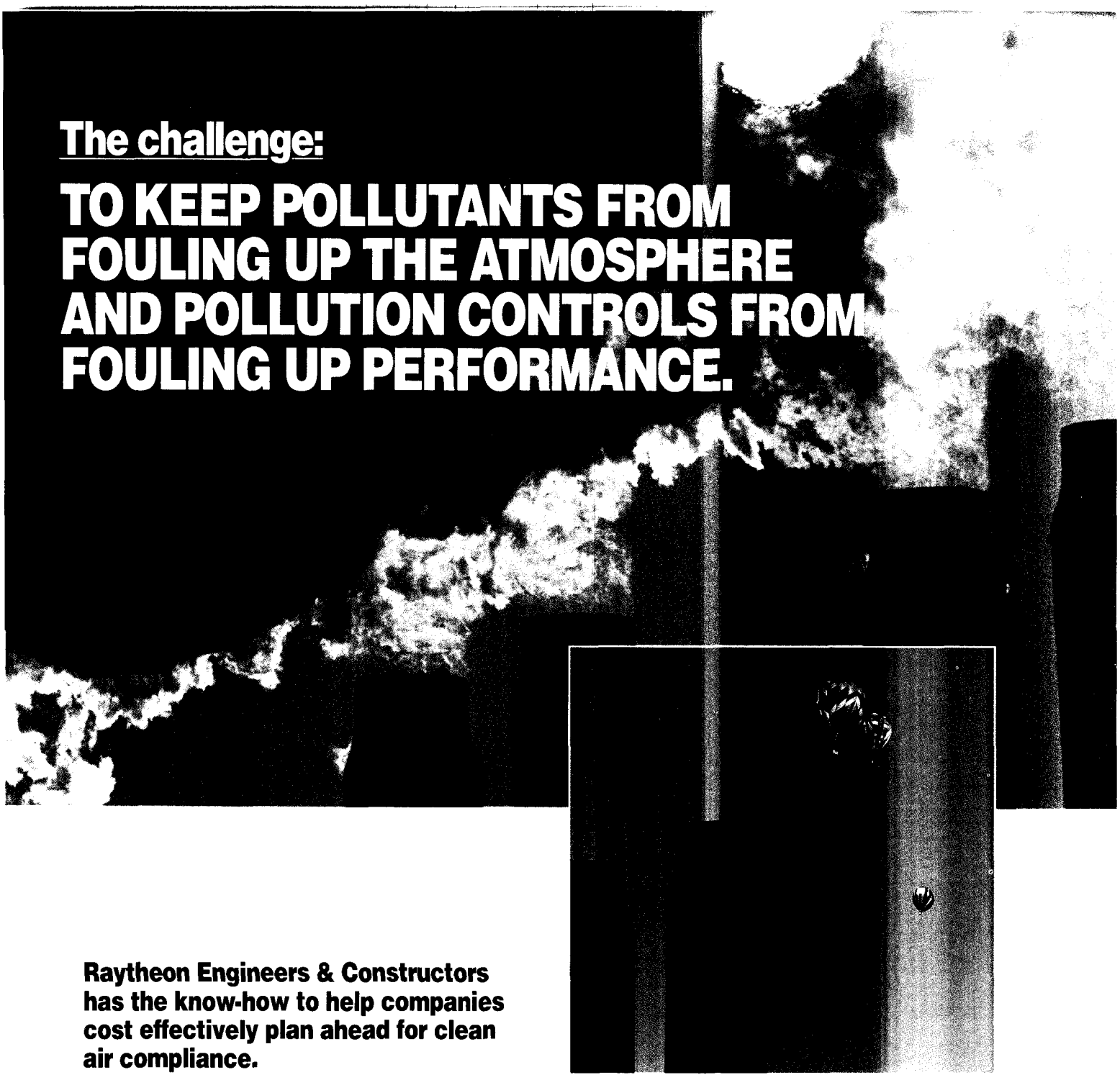

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LETTERS

More than More of the Same

You recently discussed the Senate Republicans' health-care reform proposal under the title of "Less of the Same" ["The Week," Oct. 18]—admonishing us for weak "slogans of bipartisanship" and the "age-old Republican promise to do the same thing, only cheaper." As the initial author of the Republican principles on health care signed by 24 senators, let me assure you that several key issues of disagreement with the Clinton health-care plan are non-negotiable—at least for this senator. These include a job-killing employer mandate; a single, monopolistic state purchasing alliance; and a choice-killing requirement that you must buy your insurance plan only from the state-run alliance.

These differences are immense, and go to the heart of the matter: Should government run health care? Or should the private sector be given incentives to promote, foster, and improve competition, which is the only sure way to get costs down and under control? I believe, as do a vast majority of Senate Republicans, that incentives and competition are the only real solution. That is why we have introduced our plan, and why we will oppose fatally flawed solutions such as the draft Clinton plan.

"Health reform" that costs jobs, increases bureaucracy, and expands government control of health care is *not* reform.

Christopher S. Bond
Washington, D.C.

Limiting Federal Powers

For whatever reason, my article "Reinventing Government, Reinventing Health" [Nov. 1] includes a dreadful error. As printed, the last paragraph starts: "Our government was not designed to have limited powers." It should have read: "Our government was not designed to be efficient." A later sentence was deleted that read: "The most egregious recent example, of course, is President Clinton's proposal to transform one-seventh of the American economy into one giant government-managed health-care bureaucracy without one question being raised about whether the government has this authority," a sentence that would have made clear my view about the important limits on the Federal Government's powers.

William A. Niskanen
Washington, D.C.

Lie Detectors

In his review of David Brock's book *The Real Anita Hill* [July 5], Professor Jacob Cohen pointed out that Anita Hill took a lie-detector test while Judge Thomas did not. A few factors suggest why the results of such tests are inadmissible in court and why the results of this particular test went almost unnoticed, even by the wildly anti-Thomas media.

A polygraph is not a lie detector, it is a fear detector. If the test is conducted under circumstances that do not evoke fear, the chances of a subject "passing" it are significantly increased. Anita Hill's test was conducted in the office of a friendly attorney; the questions were framed by her own lawyers; and since there had been no publicity prior to the test, there existed no danger that negative results would be released. Toss into the mix that Miss Hill no doubt was coming to believe that at least *something* had happened back in 1981 between her and Clarence Thomas, and you have the ingredients of a successful polygraph test.

Responding to a letter about his review [Oct. 18], Professor Cohen referred to "Mr. Brock's stark claim that nothing, absolutely nothing, of the sort that Miss Hill reported ever occurred." Professor, that stark claim was not made by David Brock, it was made by Clarence Thomas.

Thomas L. Jipping, JD
Vice President for Policy
Free Congress Foundation
Washington, D.C.

For the third time in these pages, let me repeat that I do not think that the results of her lie-detector test prove that Anita Hill was telling the truth. And of course I accept Mr. Jipping's characterization of the test as a test of emotions and not of the truth or falsity of the statements which they accompany. But I want to comment on the suggestion that Professor Hill may have passed the test because she "was coming to believe" the lies she had told about events ten years earlier. In my current study of lies and liars, I hear this extenuation all the time: that the liar has come to sincerely believe the truth of his own lie. In most cases I am not persuaded, and in particular I am not persuaded in this case. As David Brock honestly, and quite brilliantly, argues, Anita Hill's precise lies about Clarence Thomas would have to have been concocted within weeks of the lie-detector test. She was then facing the prospect of rigorous cross-examination in public. This is not an old lie, but a very recent one, freshly minted and in danger of exposure, and I find it even harder to believe, under those particular circumstances, that she had convinced herself of its truth. I say again that under these circumstances even a flawed test held out some dangers to her, and unless you think that there was a considerable conspiracy to fake the results of the test no matter what (and to his credit Mr. Brock shuns such conspiracizing) the fact that she took one, and the fact that Judge Thomas didn't, cannot be considered a point in his favor. On the last point both *Brock and Thomas make this claim.* —JC

Whither Russia?

Professor Richard Pipes's review of my book *Black Hundred* [Aug. 9] reached me with some delay. I am sure he will now agree that the title "False Alarm" was unfortunate in the light of recent events—i.e., his assumption that there would be no violence in Moscow.

I would like to address myself only to one aspect of his review where he does not fairly represent my views. I don't think my interpretation of the origins of Russian conservatism is quite as simplistic as Mr. Pipes makes it appear. True, my experience in Europe has been conducive to skepticism, but I have not been a professional Cassandra and a confirmed pessimist. For instance, in my work on terrorism (which he mentions) I have consistently maintained that this danger has been overrated in the West, and I was criticized in the 1970s for allegedly downplaying this threat. Unlike Mr. Pipes I do think that many Russians want a strong hand—as Germans did after World War I. This need not necessarily lead to something like Hitlerism and total disaster. But Mr. Pipes's expectation that Russia will model herself on the democratic and prosperous Germany that emerged from World War II strikes me as excessively optimistic, not to put it any stronger, at least for the foreseeable future.

Walter Laqueur
Washington, D.C.

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FROM THE EDITOR

Flight from Reason

■ Writing in *Reason* magazine, which she edits, Virginia Postrel criticizes Peter Brimelow's *NR* article on immigration because he views assimilation as something that "must be forced on people against their will."

"By contrast," she writes, "I believe American culture appeals to the universal longing for self-definition . . . a longing that has nothing to do with the color of one's skin or the language of one's ancestors."

But do people long to define themselves? Is our identity—whether personal, cultural, or national—something that we choose from a rack of possible identities? Or is it something we grow into and take largely for granted?

Of course, some intellectuals like to imagine that they have transcended such pre-conscious commitments as a national loyalty not arrived at by rational choice. And adolescents grope for an adult identity—a trial rather than a longing for most of them.

But most Americans possess a national identity quite unselfconsciously—until they venture abroad, when they realize that it marks them as different from other people. Since many of these other people also believe in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that identity cannot be reduced to the principles of the Declaration of Independence (though it may include them). It is the sum total—from the Bible to baseball—of what it means and feels to be an American.

An obvious point. But as Orwell says, the first task of intelligent people today is to state the obvious.

■ Admirers of O'Sullivan's Law ("All organizations that are not explicitly right-wing become left-wing over time") have asked me if I have done any legislating lately.

Well, as I was tossing and turning the other night, unable to sleep, I did come up with at least a draft for a new law: "Never order decaffeinated espresso in a multicultural society."

■ A friend sends me pages from a new book by Andrei Navrozov, former editor of the *Yale Literary Review*, now living in England as a jobbing literary man, in which he describes a lunch we had in 1985 when I edited the *New York Post*'s editorial page.

He came to the lunch, he writes, "in order to plug the *Lit*." The idea that the *New York Post* might readily plug any literary review unless, say, its editor turned out to be a transsexual rapist, suggests a wavering grip on reality. And this was confirmed by the tale Mr. Navrozov proceeded to tell.

It was that Averell Harriman, George Bush, Bill Buckley, and other eminent Americans, working through the agency of the Skull & Bones Secret Society at Yale, were bent on the destruction of his magazine. Exactly why was not clear; perhaps Skull & Bones was determined to stamp out long articles on the Vienna circle.

But here is Mr. Navrozov's account.

"The Americanized ghost of Fleet Street [that's me] looked with suspicion at the Deep Throat before him, and saw trouble. The ghost of Vnukovo [that's him] returned the look, and saw a gelatinous mass of conformity across the table. Buckley had body-snatched him, thought one. He is one of those conspiracy nuts Buckley warned me about, thought the other."

Well, almost right. I certainly thought Andrei saw skeletons under the bed; but I scarcely knew Bill Buckley at the time, and anyway I needed no coaching to doubt his story.

It is a pity, too, that Andrei does not finish his account. Although he seems to have guessed my private skepticism, I had done my best to humor him, saying conspiratorially: "What you have just told me is the most frightening news I have heard in a long time. Take every precaution. In particular, do not mention this conspiracy to another living soul. The consequences could be unimaginable."

Then I ran out. But I still think my advice was good. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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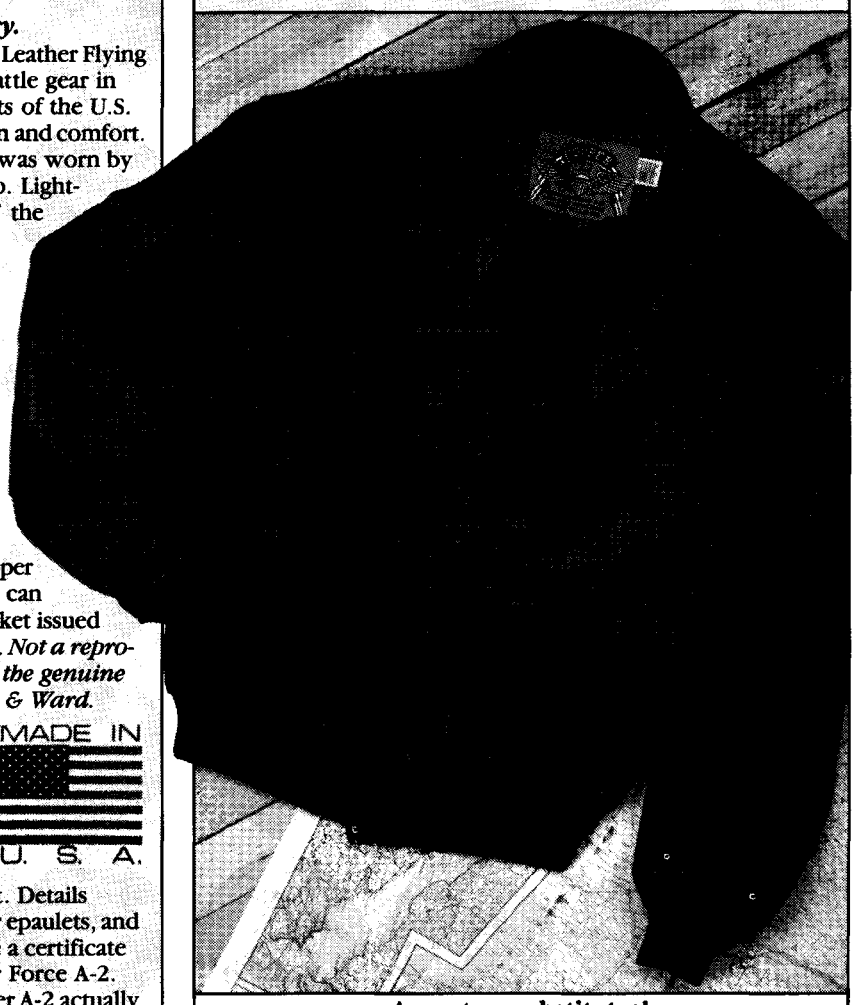

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Looking toward '96: Friends of **Dick Cheney** say former SecDef is seriously considering run for White House. (And it's looking likely that his wife, **Lynne**, will be Republican nominee for Wyoming Senate seat being vacated by **Malcolm Wallop**.) . . . **Dan Quayle** has been saying to colleagues lately it's *not* likely he'll run—unless strongly urged. . . . **Richard Nixon**, who has said he is staying out of politics, opined to **Robert Novak** that Gov. **Pete Wilson** will be presidential front-runner—if he wins gubernatorial re-election next year. . . . Indiana Sen. **Richard Lugar**, seeing foreign policy as **Bill Clinton**'s weakest hand, has not ruled out presidential run; he has been making trips to New Hampshire. . . . Seems California's strategy of having more effect on presidential nomination by moving date of primary from June to late March has been stymied. Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan moved theirs as well—to Tuesday before California's. More delegates will be selected in Midwest Super Tuesday.

■ September jobs report shows 156,000 new jobs created: 71,000, however, were in government. And 800,000 fewer people work in manufacturing today than in 1991. . . . Clinton lunched with **Richard Reeves**, author of recent book on **JFK**, at White House last week hoping to gain some insights into **Camelot**'s handling of foreign policy. . . . *U.S. News & World Report* says Clinton plans to make welfare reform centerpiece of next State of the Union address. . . . Chief of Staff **Tom McLarty** got advice from Richard Nixon over breakfast recently; **David Gergen** introduced them. . . . HHS Secretary **Donna Shalala** will be guest lecturer at course being taught by likely future House Minority Leader and former history professor **Newt Gingrich** in his home district in Georgia. Course title: Renewing American Civilization.

■ Watch the Money: **Daniel Inouye** may not be able to donate much himself to his law-school alma mater, but he recently gave **George Washington University** $50 million of taxpayers' money. It's appropriated for a school hospital. . . . Rep. **Vic Fazio** (D., Calif.) has put in defense-procurement bill order for Army to buy jumbo olives for its troops; olives are prime business in Fazio's district. . . . Prior to 1900 only 4 members of Congress faced criminal charges while in office. Between 1900 and 1970, 31 did; since 1970, 57. . . . Republican senatorial committee's long search for female to take on Sen. **Edward Kennedy** has ended at moderate radio-talk-show host **Janet Jeghelian**. But first she must register Republican. Meanwhile, feminist groups have been flocking to Bay State to help Kennedy raise funds. . . . Florida attorney **Hugh Rodham**, brother of First Lady, is considering a challenge to conservative Sen. **Connie Mack** in '94. . . . Sens. **Bob Dole**, **Orrin Hatch**, and **Alan Simpson** will appear on upcoming *Murphy Brown* episode. They'll play themselves in a scene in which title character has nightmare: people she has crossed are interviewed by her biographer.

"Just browsing, thanks."

■ **Associated Press** has re-opened bureau in Vietnam, which Communist government closed 18 years ago. . . . Vietnam Deputy Prime Minister **Phan Van Khai** was recently received in New York by 200 corporate executives at $350-a-plate dinner. Said Phan: "We do not want to see American companies being left out or lagging behind in competing for business opportunities in Vietnam." . . . **Warren Christopher** considering offer of Czech Foreign Minister **Josef Zieleniec** to house **Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty** in Prague. Station had been slated to be gutted and placed under **Voice of America** control. However, word got around that it was only source of information for Russians during **Boris Yeltsin**'s standoff with parliament. . . . Last month, **Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn** was given private audience with Pope **John Paul II**. . . . Chancellor **Helmut Kohl**'s government is having trouble reining in interminable Communist bureaucracy: Federal Court of Auditors says former East German railroads have 30,000 too many employees, costing taxpayers $900 million annually.

■ **National Journalism Center** is accepting applications for six-week winter internship, beginning December 13. (Fellowships in economic journalism also being offered.) Deadline: November 26. Contact **Mal Kline** or **Piper Lowell** at 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; 202-544-1333. . . . **CPAC**'s 21st annual conference will be held in Washington, February 10–12. For info, write 919 Prince St., Alexandria, Va. 22314; 703-739-2550.

■ Aztlan or Bust! New campaign group, **Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan**, is pushing to "liberate" a large part of the Southwest from the Gringos (who stole it, see) and create new nation called Aztlan. No word yet on enterprise zones.

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THE WEEK

■ A travel agency recently suggested that those with a spirit of adventure might consider the Balkans as a destination. Fine, but we'll wait to see how things develop before planning a visit to Canada.

■ With Congress apparently killing any chance for financing of the Texas atom-smasher, that leaves Ross Perot as the state's only supercollider.

■ There's a rumor that retired Admiral William Crowe, Colin Powell's predecessor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, may be drafted as a White House advisor—a "David Gergen for foreign policy." Admiral Crowe was in line to be Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. Should he end up in the White House instead, don't look for much improvement. Admiral Crowe opposed the Gulf War and backed President Clinton on gays in the military. His standing with the military is low, and he will only reinforce the liberal mindset that has gotten the President in all the trouble in the first place.

■ Robert Packwood, liberal, feminist, and baron of the Senate, has been accused of groping staffers and lobbyists over two decades, and intimidating them into silence afterward. Senator Packwood initially responded with a formulation that was destined for *Oprah*: *If* he had done wrong, he apologized. The Senate ethics committee had been sifting through selected portions of his diaries, with his consent, until he decided the investigations were too intrusive, and revealed that the material he wished to withhold included notes on the sexual antics of fellow solons. A class act. Our enjoyment at seeing a hypocrite and a congressional despot get his comeuppance should not extend, however, to approval of the ethics committee's action. Staffers should not have the power to rummage through the records of private lives for evidence of "crimes" that were not crimes when they were committed—and that, except to those who believe that all men are fiends, may not be crimes now. Even senators deserve fair play.

"Does this mean you're voting for NAFTA, senator?"

■ Sometimes you hope that the people in the Clinton White House are still smoking dope. It would at least explain such matters as the comment by AIDS czarina Kristine Gebbie, at a conference on teenage pregnancy, that what America most needs to do is stop talking about sex "in terms of don'ts and diseases." Otherwise, "we will continue to be a repressed, Victorian society that misrepresents information, denies sexuality early, denies homosexual sexuality particularly in teens, and leaves people abandoned with no place to go." The next day, Miss Gebbie put out a statement describing abstinence as the "surest" way to stop AIDS, but her real beliefs are undoubtedly reflected by her gaffe: namely, that in the 12th year of a venereal plague, an AIDS bureaucrat shouldn't talk about sex in terms of disease, and that a nation with our rates of illegitimacy and divorce is properly described as "Victorian."

■ It turns out that Chevy Chase, a former Not-Ready-for-Prime-Time Player, wasn't ready for late-night either. But Chase fans, saddened by the quick demise of his hapless show, can take heart. Based on Bill Clinton's performance so far, the spirit of Chevy lives on in the Oval Office.

■ Ronald S. Lauder wants the people of New York City to impose term limits on their elected officials. The heir to a $3-billion cosmetic empire and the man who, four years ago, ran for mayor as a Conservative, Mr. Lauder is a convert to the term-limit cause. Not one to waste time, however, he immediately hired a staff of six and has spent, to date, approximately $1 million selling the idea to the voters of New York. His opponents, realizing their political careers may be in danger, accuse him of using the issue as a stepping-stone to re-enter New York's political scene. Nonsense, replies Mr. Lauder. "As a New Yorker, I feel the gridlock strangling the city, and I think of nothing that could revolutionize the city like term limits." We wish Mr. Lauder well. Term limits are desirable everywhere; in New York City, they're essential.

■ Social issues helped the GOP crack the Democrats' hold on working-class ethnic voters in the 1970s. And they could, a survey by the polling firm Fabrizio, McLaughlin suggests, help split

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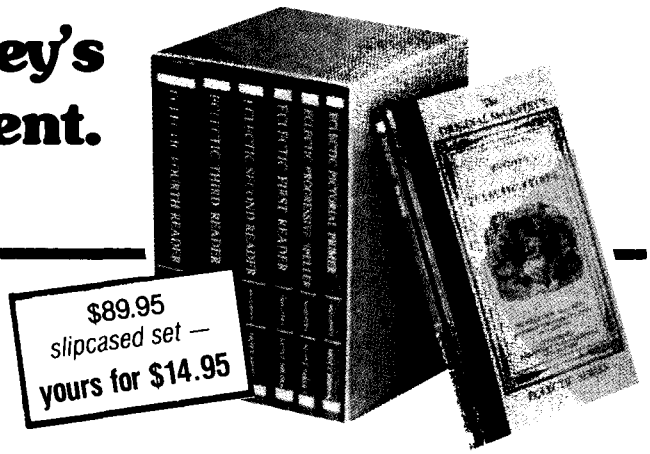

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off another chunk of the Democratic coalition in the 1990s—black and Hispanic voters. The daylight between the minority rank-and-file and their spokesmen on these gut issues is startling. Large majorities of blacks and Hispanics disapprove of teaching about homosexuality in the schools (69 and 64 per cent respectively) and favor some restrictions on abortion (72 and 73). More than 80 per cent of both groups give the nod to school choice, and roughly 90 per cent say yes to workfare. About 60 per cent favor the death penalty and no parole for repeat offenders. Getting such results in survey questions is easier than at the ballot box, but even there Republicans who offer the right mix of toughness on the social issues, low-tax policies as an elixir for the economy, and minority outreach (like Richard Riordan in Los Angeles and Bret Schundler in Jersey City) have made inroads. We're told social issues are divisive, and when played right, they are—for a Democratic coalition saddled with a social liberalism offensive to common-sense people of all races.

■ If you're baffled at how the jury in the Reginald Denny case could include that smashing Denny's head with a concrete brick did not constitute assault with a deadly weapon, don't give up on our justice system just yet. Since the brick broke into pieces during the attack, perhaps the DA can still nail Damian Williams on a littering rap.

■ Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk now admits that his country plans to hold onto some of its nuclear weapons instead of destroying them all as earlier pledged. In the light of the West's apparent incomprehension of Ukraine's security problems in the shadow of a muscle-flexing Russia, this should not be a surprise. The Administration—which wants Ukraine to surrender those nukes—is perversely *increasing* the incentive to retain them by its continuing deference to Russia as the pre-eminent power in the region. Secretary Christopher's visit to Ukraine (and Kazakhstan) was a welcome step, but it would be even better if the President himself were to put these countries on his itinerary when he visits Moscow in January.

Betting the Ranch on Aristide

The scuttlebutt's too rude to quote,
So let us, *sotto voce*, note
Unease among the folks who've spent
A day with Haiti's president,
And wonder why we risk a fling
With this unstable ding-a-ling.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ A proposal by the mayor of Moscow to remove Lenin's remains from Red Square could hit a snag. How do you grab hold of a body that is spinning?

■ Scholars have been waiting for fresh evidence in the Hiss case from Eastern Europe. Their patience was rewarded on October 11, when Hungarian historian Maria Schmidt presented a paper at New York University that included the most sensational proof of Mr. Hiss's guilt since Whittaker Chambers reached into a pumpkin 45 years ago and pulled out a fistful of microfilm. The crux of Mrs. Schmidt's findings is testimony by Noel Field, a self-confessed Soviet agent who defected behind the Iron Curtain in 1949 and then filled in Communist authorities on his dealings with fellow spy Alger Hiss. This evidence, exhumed from Budapest's Interior Ministry, impressed even the *New York Times*, normally a bastion of Hiss partisanship, and on October 15, its op-ed page published a detailed précis of Mrs. Schmidt's research written by Sam Tanenhaus, who is at work on a biography of Whittaker Chambers and who first announced Mrs. Schmidt's findings in last April's *Commentary*. Is the *Times* at last ready to admit the truth about Alger Hiss? Not quite. A news report on the findings was killed at the last minute. But *The New Republic* followed up with a condensation of Mrs. Schmidt's paper. Meanwhile, the Hiss lobby, thrown into a panic, has fought back as only it can, with a four-page "analysis" in *The Nation*. Its delectable thesis: Mr. Field's testimony grew out of a Stalinist plot to defame Alger Hiss by labeling him . . . a Stalinist! Leave it to *The Nation* to revive the ghost of Joe McCarthy.

■ A task force of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America has recommended, among other reforms of church teaching on sexual morality, that masturbation, or "self-pleasuring," is "generally appropriate and healthy," which certainly gives a new twist to loving your neighbor as yourself.

■ "If the granddaughter of seventy-year-old Jenny steals money from her purse, checking account, or savings account, that's elder abuse," reads an ad on a New York City subway. Having lobbied diligently for recognition as a specially protected group, the elderly have now broadened the definition of "elder abuse." No longer does that phrase apply exclusively to acts of physical or psychological violence. Now it encompasses common theft. Which leads one through the various intriguing permutations: If the nephew of a homosexual steals money from the homosexual's wallet, does that constitute "gay bashing"? If a white adolescent steals money from the purse of his black babysitter, is that a "hate crime"? And what about Reginald Denny? If he hadn't been born a white male, maybe Mr. Denny could have

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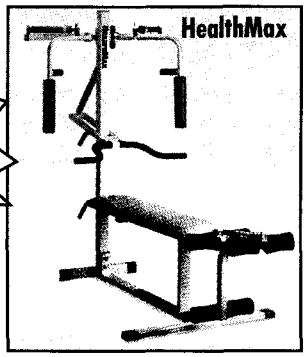

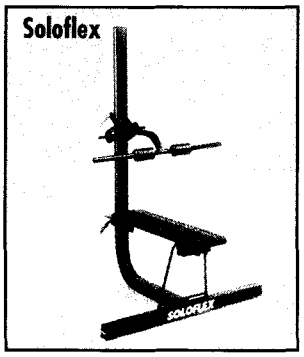

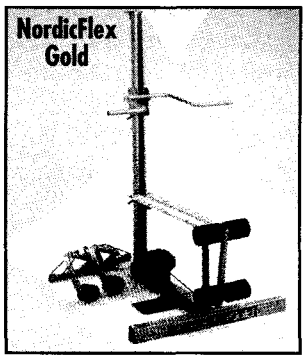

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5 Strength conditioning for all five major muscle groups	☑ YES **HEALTHMAX** strengthens all five: arms, legs, abdominals, back and pectorals.	☑ YES, **BUT...**You must purchase $400 in extra accessories to do comparable exercises for legs and pecs.	☑ YES, **BUT...**Why would you pay $700 more than **HEALTHMAX**?
6 Comfortable bench	☑ YES Padded bench is a full 47" long, 12" wide, and a comfortable 20" high.	☒ NO Padded bench is only 40½" long, making some lying down exercises awkward.	☒ NO Padded 40" bench is short, narrow (only 9" wide), and too high (24") off the ground.
7 Hydraulic cylinder resistance system	☑ YES Adjusts to your personal resistance level with a simple twist of a dial.	☒ NO Uses rubber bands which must be changed to vary resistance level.	☒ NO Uses complicated cord/pulley/mechanical resistance system.
8 Full refund of return freight if unit returned	☑ YES If not satisfied, we will refund your cost, shipping/handling charges, and all return freight!	☒ NO You pay over $85 to return. It must go by truck to Oregon!	☒ NO You pay about $65 to return by UPS.
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persuaded the California court that he, too, had suffered abuse. Just a thought; probably nothing in it.

■ The oath of the Girl Scouts has long had little girls pledging: "On my honor, I will try to serve God and my country, to help people at all times, and to live by the Girl Scout Law." This offensive text has lately been rejected. Girl Scouts will now be allowed to score out the G-word and pledge their allegiance to the Goddess, the Buddha, Allah, the "spiritual power" of their own conscience, or Nothing in Particular. But surely the bit about "my country" is offensive, too. Suppose a scout is a U.S. citizen but prefers to pledge allegiance to Bangladesh, Equatorial Guinea, or Canada? Come to think of it, what about "honor"? That's a rather patriarchal notion. Also, what if "people" don't want "help," the very word suggesting the condescension of the heterosexual hegemony toward the marginalized gay and lesbian communities? And, hey, about the whole idea of "Law"—isn't that some kind of authoritarian . . .

■ "It's a very strong statement that Girl Scouts continue to be on the cutting edge," Girl Scout President B. LaRae Orullian explains.

■ Now we can say the Soviet capitulation is complete. For just under $10,000 you can take a spin over Russia in a MiG-29 ($90,000 gets you a mock dogfight). A Florida company has arranged the high-speed flights—a MiG can go from New York to Boston in eight minutes—with the Russian aerospace industry. Leave it to American enterprise to reduce one of the proudest symbols of Soviet military might to an expensive roller-coaster. Next: rooms at the Kremlin at $125 a night (cable not included).

Crime without Punishment

IN WASHINGTON, congressional committees debate the link between TV violence and crime; the President calls for a new multi-billion-dollar scholarship program for college students who want to enter police work; newly appointed FBI Director Louis Freeh pointedly selects a black, a woman, and a Hispanic as his leadership team; and Attorney General Janet Reno serves double duty as Secretary of HHS in calling for higher social spending. Crime-busting, Clinton-style.

But in Los Angeles, we see the nation's criminal-justice system continuing to self-destruct. What occurred in the trial of the two black defendants, accused of smashing a white truckdriver's head with a brick and assaulting at least seven other victims during the Rodney King–inspired riots, was remarkable only in its public prominence. It is an ill-kept secret among urban police officers, prosecutors, and other court-watchers that the inner-city criminal-justice system has itself become a major barrier to law enforcement and public safety. The problem goes beyond the procedural rules that have obstructed law enforcement since the heyday of Justice Warren. Rather, the racial polarization emerging generally in America—given impetus by a generation of public policies meting out favors on the basis of race—is increasingly reflected in the justice system in cities with large minority communities. Evidence of this polarization takes many forms: prosecutors and defense counsel preoccupied with the racial composition of juries; juries hung along racial lines; and jury verdicts plainly influenced by racial calculations.

Fueling these developments is not only the sense of victimhood now internalized by many blacks, but also the paucity of responsible black leadership on the crime issue in most cities. When leaders such

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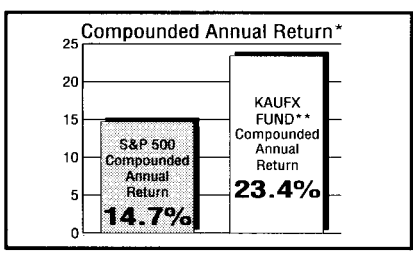

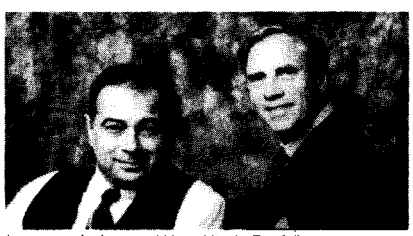
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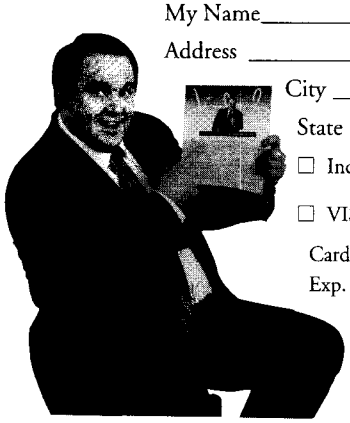

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as Jesse Jackson discuss crime, they generally do so in a nationalist context that stresses "black-on-black" crime or that accentuates the idea of an isolated black community assaulted by crime and neglected by apathetic white authority. This leadership has shown little inclination to condemn black criminality in any except pro-forma terms.

Much of their modus operandi was on display in Los Angeles—a commitment to viewing the judicial process as just another form of politics susceptible to pickets and protests; a false even-handedness between the excesses of the police and the purposeful criminal conduct of the defendants; an extraordinary solicitude for forms of due process at the expense of judging and punishing the guilty by reasonable standards; and an insistence upon injecting greyness into areas where moral certainty is required (as, for example, in the depiction of the defendants being "caught up" in mob violence as if overcome by insuperable natural forces).

Whatever the merits of Reginald Denny's personal willingness to forgive his attackers, the criminal-justice system exists to requite the harm done by the criminal to *all* of society. Where it fails in its mission—and a system in which Stacey Koon serves more time than Henry Watson *has* failed—law-abiding citizens will conclude, and rightly conclude, that they must protect themselves. An entirely reasonable response to the Denny verdict is for people to stay out of areas of Los Angeles where they risk running into Damian Williams, Henry Watson, or their friends. For people who unavoidably must live, work, or visit there, the sensible course is to arm themselves at home, at work, and in their cars. Yet these—not the defendants—are the very people who will be handicapped by the Brady Bill and by other proposals for gun control favored by a liberal opinion that has shown no real intention of protecting decent citizens or of punishing their oppressors.

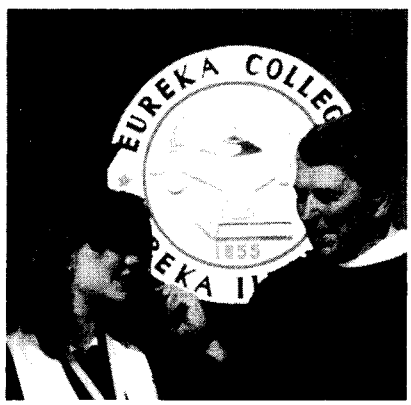
Maple Leaf Forever?

ONE STARK lesson emerges from Canada's October 25 federal election: the wages of pragmatism are death. The governing Progressive Conservative ("Tory") Party was annihilated. It salvaged only two seats, and its new subfeminist leader, Kim Campbell, was defeated in her own district. Political parties have occasionally recovered from this sort of disaster before in Canada, although never on the federal level. This time, however, disillusionment among the much-betrayed conservative hard-core appears terminal—and they have someplace else to go.

The feat of destroying the Progressive Conservatives was accomplished by former Prime Minister (1984–93) Brian Mulroney, a Bush Tory, last reported to be in hiding on a junket to China. The reward for Mr. Mulroney's campaign to buy support in the mainly French-speaking province of Quebec: 54 seats for the separatist *Bloc Québecois*, the first time separatists have ever intervened in a federal election. This is a giant step on the road to Quebec independence. Another may be imminent: a Quebec provincial election is due next year, and the separatists are ahead in the polls there too.

The silver lining: the triumph of the new conservative Reform Party. It has burst into Parliament with 52 seats. Reform displaced the Tories from their traditional base in Western Canada. In Ontario, where it won one seat, it performed the grim but historically necessary task of splitting the conservative vote, destroying its Tory rivals at the price of letting the Liberals in.

Preston Manning, Reform's leader, is a cautious, colorless pro-



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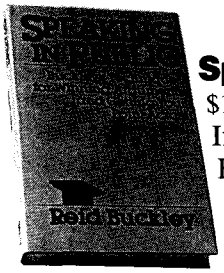

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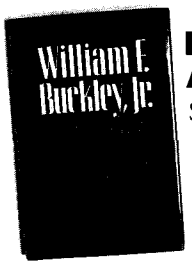

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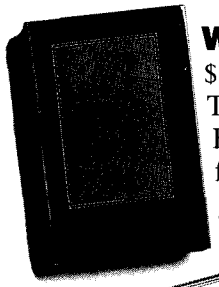

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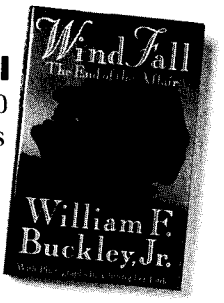

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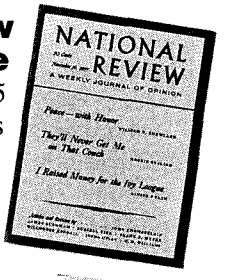

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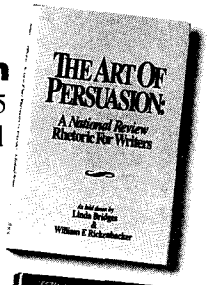

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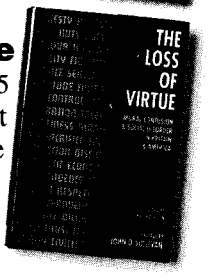

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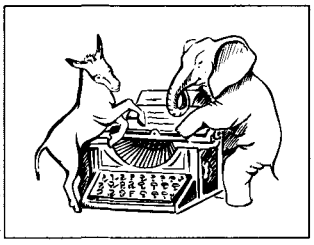
fessional politician (his father was premier of Alberta). But he has systematically positioned his party to the right of the Canadian liberal consensus that was slavishly supported by Mr. Mulroney and Mrs. Campbell. He has even made noises about restricting immigration, a hot issue in a country whose taxpayers are supporting one of Somali warlord Mohammed Farah Aidid's wives and her children. Mr. Manning, his party, and the West in general have been consistently treated with contempt by Canada's Toronto-dominated media. Consequently, American commentators have barely noticed him. Well, they had better start now.

The short-term beneficiaries of the Tory moderate suicide: Jean Chrétien's Liberals, Canada's longtime party of government, with 177 seats. Just like American Democrats, they will conclude that happy days are here again—they are even talking about infrastructure spending. But they have not restored a nationwide electoral coalition. Reform and the *Bloc* own their respective sections. The Liberal's sweep of Ontario, which gave them nearly a hundred seats, is a fluke of the Reform–Tory death-struggle. (The Liberals also benefited from the implosion to nine seats of the socialist New Democrats, whose feminist leader—a pattern here?—also proved a dud.)

Other countries' politics are marked by the will to power: Canada's by the will to complacency. Never-

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

■ **Virginia:** Chuck Robb was elected senator in 1988 with more votes than any other senator in state history. He had been a popular governor and had a veneer of celebrity—having married LBJ's daughter in the White House and gone on to fight in Vietnam.



In the Senate, he positioned himself on the moderate side of the Democratic caucus. He voted for Clarence Thomas's nomination and use of force in the Gulf, popular stands in a conservative state. And he was removed from the Budget Committee by Jim Sasser because he favored more cuts in domestic spending and an increase for defense.

More recently, however, he has turned sharp left, becoming a Clinton man—he supported the stimulus package, tax hikes, gays in the military, and more. And his luster has been scuffed by various scandals. A poll early this year found only 32 per cent supporting his re-election.

Worse, his constant feuding with his successor as governor, Doug Wilder, has drawn Wilder into next year's race for the Democratic senatorial nomination. If Wilder loses, he'll run as an independent against Robb and the Republican. But that Republican will not be some squishy moderate as in the past.

Oliver North has been running for this seat for years. He has raised millions of dollars for his two PACs, both of which have given generously to candidates for lower office who, North hopes, will help his bid for the nomination. North's big advantage is, of course, his past as Reagan's lifeline to the Contras who browbeat Congress in four electrifying days. It's also his big negative. He's pro-life, anti-NAFTA, and above all anti-Clinton.

James C. Miller, currently president of Citizens for a Sound Economy, was Reagan's director of OMB, where in 1988 he helped cut the federal budget to its lowest point since 1981. He's a prominent fiscal conservative; pro-NAFTA; pro-life; a hawk; and adamantly opposed to government-supervised health-care reform.

Ollie North would rack up a decent ACU rating, and be lots of fun. But Jim Miller can win the respect of fellow senators. He would be more effective in helping shape national debate. The state GOP has decided on a convention rather than a primary. This favors North, because the active members of the religious Right will show up by the busload for him. Miller will have a harder time getting his supporters to go to a convention rather than to the voting booth. But we hope he succeeds: he's the better angel.

■ **Tennessee:** When Al Gore became Bill Clinton's running-mate, Governor Ned McWherter chose his old friend and political advisor Harlan Mathews as a caretaker until a special election could be held. Mathews accepted the governor's request not to run in that election; he hasn't decided whether to keep that promise.

Representative Jim Cooper will likely get the nomination, however, even if Mathews runs. Cooper is a Clinton-type—politically precocious, overeducated, and confident of government's ability to manage people. He has advanced a health-care idea in the House—a watered-down version of Hillary's. He leans left.

The most likely Republican nominee is Fred Dalton Thompson, former counsel to the Senate Watergate committee and currently a Nashville lawyer and movie actor (*Under Siege* and *In the Line of Fire*). He is a likable fellow who knows the corridors of Washington but who has stayed away for a number of years. He stresses two main themes: 1) economic growth through lower taxes and 2) congressional reform (i.e., term limits). He's exploring private-sector approaches to make health care affordable. He's pro-choice and pro-NAFTA.

Fred Thompson is slugging away—raising money, speaking to crowds, and gaining party support. Jim Cooper has a record that, depending on how things turn out, will make him a dupe or a jolly good fellow. The senior senator, Jim Sasser, and Governor McWherter are up for re-election too. Republicans are hoping to paint them all as the dupes of failed Democratic policies. Thompson's next movie should be a remake of *Mr. Smith Goes . . .* —Geoffrey Morris

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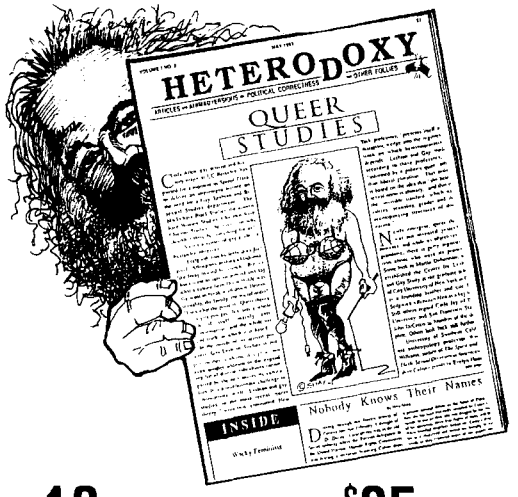

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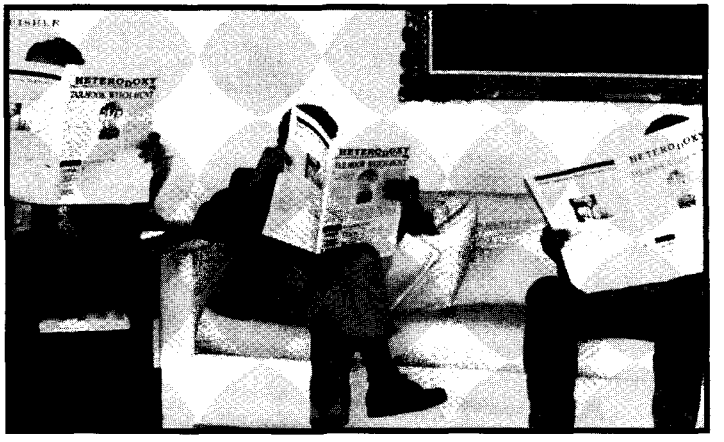

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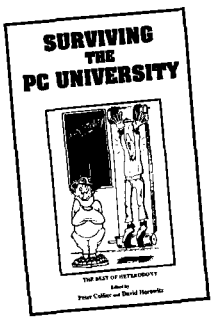

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theless, the claws of the pincer that will destroy the Canadian confederation as it currently exists are now visible to those with eyes to see.

Down Mexico Way

AS THE transforming catalyst of Mexico's economy and society, NAFTA sometimes sounds like the greatest invention since patent medicine. It will supposedly lock in President Salinas's liberalizing reforms, raise Mexico's standards of labor, health, and environmental protection, pave the way for real democracy, and—since these benefits will in turn make Mexico a modern prosperous country—reduce the flow of illegal immigrants to the United States. About such claims, we can make one general point with reasonable certitude: it is *hubris* to imagine that the U.S. can transform another society in this way, and *hubris* on stilts to suppose it can be done by eliminating average tariffs of 4 per cent in the U.S. and 10 per cent in Mexico.

Let us, however, examine these claims in particular. Would NAFTA lock in the Salinas reforms? Probably it would help to do so. But most observers believe that these reforms, supported overwhelmingly by Mexico's political and business elites, are entrenched anyway. Here, for instance, is Professor Jorge Castaneda in *Foreign Affairs*: "The economic reforms . . . were largely inevitable; with logical, and necessary, rectifications and adjustments, they are here to stay." Should this confidence be misplaced and popular opinion insist on overturning liberalization, it will not be deterred by the fact that this would also be a slap at the Yankee. Indeed, that might be an additional incentive.

Would NAFTA raise Mexico's level of regulation? We should hope not. The only way that greater regulation can be sustained is on the back of greater prosperity. To go directly for U.S. levels of regulation would suppress, or at least delay, Mexico's economic growth. The snag is that Mexico already has U.S. levels of regulation—on paper. NAFTA and its side agreements would, however, create the likelihood that these would be enforced for the first time, fostering a well-regulated but inert Mexican economy. Not the ideal circumstances for either sustained prosperity or a stable transition to democracy.

Assume, however, that the positive effects of tariff reduction overwhelm the drawbacks of greater regulation. The Mexican economy would then gradually grow and, as NAFTA's partisans argue, there would be more jobs at home and less incentive for Mexicans to head north. The short term is another matter. The first effects of NAFTA would be a general dislocation of Mexican industry as the average 10 per cent tariff was dismantled, and the particular disemployment of several million agricultural workers as farm subsidies wound down. Those workers will go where the best wages are—and for some time to come that will be the U.S. So, one side agreement that conservatives should insist on for any support of NAFTA is a well-enforced moratorium on immigration during this transitional period.

To sum up, NAFTA would benefit the Salinas government. Whether it would on balance benefit Mexico depends on whether it becomes primarily a free-trade deal or an engine of regulation. And the worrying thing is that, when non-Republican advocates of NAFTA discuss its virtues, they increasingly reveal a sort of Green Yankee imperialism, similar to George Bernard Shaw's liberal Englishman discussing Irish independence: "Irish home rule will work wonders under English guidance." The future is rarely so predictable, and never so convenient.

Intent in L.A.

I gather, though he grabbed a brick
And gave the victim's skull a lick,
But didn't, coming on the scene,
Intend to act untoward or mean,
His lawyer got him off the hook,
Electrifying every crook.

W. H. VON DREELE

Quiet on the Eastern Front

THE NATO allies have offered a half-way "partnership" arrangement for the new democracies of Eastern Europe, which had been clamoring for full membership in the Alliance. The offer is open to former Warsaw Pact members that are democracies—including Russia.

The "partnership" arrangement, a Clinton Administration initiative, is a bitter disappointment to Czech President Vaclav Havel and others in the region who fear the Russian bear resurgent and see NATO membership as their best hope for maintaining independence. It is widely believed that Boris Yeltsin, under pressure from his military, sent a letter to President Clinton in September opposing any expansion of NATO that absorbed Russia's former allies but excluded Russia. This veto clearly had an effect, and Yeltsin is allegedly pleased with the watered-down concept that has emerged.

We see a modest benefit in the new arrangements—provided they are adopted with some strategic clarity. NATO's principal function is not to be a social club for democratic political leaders, but to be

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a bulwark of the balance of power in Europe. Russia is a disproportionate concentration of power on the Continent, and providing a counterweight is clearly one of NATO's main purposes. At present, this means protecting Eastern Europe *against* Russia.

The problem is how to do this in a way that does not provoke the hostile Russian reaction against which we are trying to ensure. By this standard, the incremental approach to inclusion of Eastern Europe is promising. Since June 1991, the Alliance has declared its interest in the security of the Eastern European democracies. The "partnership" arrangement will give impetus to bilateral operational planning, joint exercises, and procurement cooperation that will strengthen their defense capabilities.

Russia's participation in the arrangement is of a different character. It is a vehicle for sensible arms limitation and confidence-building measures between Russia and the West; a way to avoid a sense of isolation in Russia that might exacerbate nationalist resentments; also a cover for quiet operational collaboration with Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. But should Russian policy in Central Europe ever take a more ominous turn, the West will need to move more forthrightly to shield its new "partners."

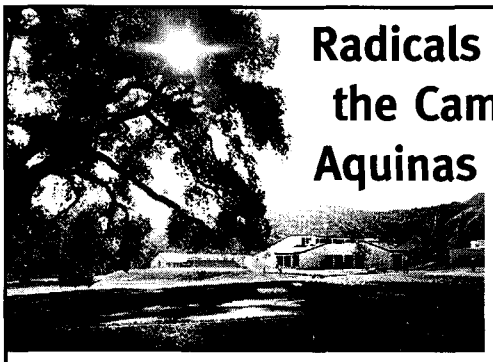
Critics' Hour

EVEN HOLLYWOOD'S most enthusiastic cheerleaders are hard pressed to deny that much of its output contributes to society's problems while very little points to solutions. To the extent that films and television depict human life as cheap and sexuality as a no-fault frolic, they are the proper object of popular anger and moral criticism.

But we live in a free society and have a number of weapons available in the battle for what will be offered in the coming five-hundred-channel universe. Consumer boycotts can be aimed at stations, networks, and their advertisers. Parents can "lock out" offensive material. The truly determined can buy shares and be heard at annual meetings, as Charlton Heston memorably demonstrated in the "Cop Killer" battle. These ways are demanding, and progress is slow; but they are how free people bring about change.

What is unacceptable in theory and unworkable in practice is diktat by the government of the day. Senator Paul Simon and Attorney General Janet Reno, recent converts to concern over television violence, now threaten government councils to regulate such programs. How long before they decide to pass judgment on what may be expressed—media speech codes, if you will. For in the present state of society, censorship would be exercised not by local citizens defending traditional values and their own children, but by the same bureaucrats who have given us condoms in schools and crucifixes in urine.

Let the politicians restore civility to the streets—a duty they currently neglect. The rest of us should gird ourselves to battle with Hollywood in the mar-



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ketplace. In a free society people will get the television they deserve; and that mirror will not always flatter us. But it will be superior to whatever the attorney general deems suitable.

Petr Beckmann, R I P

PETR BECKMANN, who published *Access to Energy* and taught at the University of Colorado, died in Boulder on August 3. He was 68 years old. Coming at a time of increasingly politicized science and stultified learning, his death is a blow to all who admired his incorruptible search for the truth. Little note was taken of his death in the public prints, but as the new publisher of *Access to Energy*, Arthur Robinson, said recently: "Keep your notes on Beckmann." After he retired from the university, where he taught electrical engineering, Professor Beckmann re-analyzed the physical problems that had led Einstein to propose the special theory of relativity. He published *Einstein Plus Two* in 1987, concluding that all those problems could be resolved more simply within a classical, Newtonian framework. It is too early to say whether Beckmann's work will be vindicated—most physicists still have not heard of it—but as Art Robinson pointed out, it is most unusual for anyone working alone in his sixties even to attempt such a project.

Petr Beckmann was born in Prague in 1924. Because his father was a politically active Communist lawyer, his family moved to England in 1939. Petr always looked back with great affection to his high-school years, spent near Birmingham, his schooling sometimes interrupted by bombing raids. In 1943 he enlisted in a Czech squadron of the RAF, and here he had the opportunity to take a secret radar course and help service the embryonic radar equipment used by his squadron. After the war he returned to Czechoslovakia and enrolled in Prague Technical University; he also became a member of the Communist Party. But by the 1950s he had become strongly anti-Communist and in 1963 he accepted an invitation to teach for a year at the University of Colorado. He decided not to return.

The United States was "a jewel of a country" when he arrived, Beckmann would later say. But he noticed a decline in the quality of the students at UC, and in recent years he became increasingly concerned about the influence of the Green Church, as he called those environmentalists antagonistic to technology and progress. But, as a result of his brilliant, lucid, and funny writings, defending nuclear energy and other unfashionable causes, at least a few thousand *Access to Energy* subscribers knew when the greenies were lying to them.

Petr Beckmann had phenomenal energy, and his output, including the journal *Galilean Electrodynamics*, which he founded in 1990, was more than two industrious men could reasonably be expected to achieve. He told me in April that if he had achieved anything, it was because he was capable of sitting in a chair and working without interruption for hours at a time. His greatest quality, however, was his open-mindedness and his willingness to think for himself without deferring to authority in any field.

He is survived by his wife, Irene, and by many friends and admirers who will always remember him as an inspiration and who will work to advance the ideas that he cherished: liberty and free inquiry.

—TOM BETHELL

Frank R. Barnett, R I P

FRANK R. BARNETT, who died August 15 after fighting a valiant battle against cancer, was of the fabric from which legends are made. His incarnations included educator, foundation executive, author, lecturer, consultant on national-security affairs, and a specialist in Soviet strategy, geopolitics, and defense innovation.

After two years at Oxford as a Rhodes scholar, reading philosophy, history, and Elizabethan literature, Frank began his career teaching English and history at Wabash College. But his troubling experiences as a corporal and Russian interpreter with the 69th Infantry Division, which met the Russian army at the Elbe in April 1945, as well as a year on General Lucius Clay's staff in postwar Berlin, changed his life. He thereafter dedicated himself to fighting Communism by educating political and academic leaders on how to combat "isms."

As vice president of the Richardson Foundation, and later as president of the National Strategy Information Center, Frank took part in seminars, conferences, informal brainstorming sessions, and round-table discussions in the United States and Europe. He abhorred all forms of tyranny, often quoting Thomas Jefferson: "I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny

A Health-Care Bulletin

What seemed like contractions preceding a birth
As Ira and Hillary measured its girth
While hubby perspired as daddies will do,
Awaiting the sound of a healthy *boo-hoo*!
Turned into a wake when a CBO fax
Advised that a premium's really a tax.

W. H. VON DREELE

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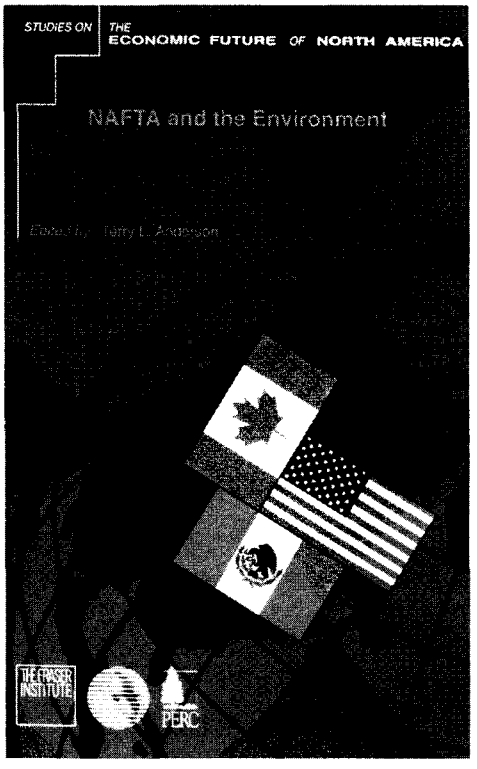
Some Myths and Facts about NAFTA and the Environment



MYTH: Mexico will become a haven for polluters.
FACT: Mexico is the ONLY country that has shut down an oil refinery for environmental reasons alone.

MYTH: Pollution along the border will worsen.
FACT: Under NAFTA, factories won't need to concentrate on the border.

MYTH: Economic growth stimulated by free trade will worsen the environment.
FACT: Economic growth is good for the environment.

NAFTA and the Environment is a book that explodes the most common myths about NAFTA. Contrary to the nightmare described by environmental extremists, liberalized trade in the Americas will protect the environment through increased prosperity and market-based environmental policies.

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- *Beyond NAFTA: An economic, political and sociological perspective* (1993). NAFTA's likely consequences. *$14.95*
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over the mind of man." This was the essence of Frank, profound in his belief in God and passionate in his fight for freedom and democracy.

Yet he was never euphoric over the fall of Communism; rather he was cautiously hopeful while warning that political realities in post-Communist countries, with their ethnic tensions, economic hardships, and social upheavals, could all too easily trigger backlashes against democratic reforms.

Frank was an unselfish, unpretentious, and generous man who liked to nurture talented men and women, helping to bring out their best, then allowing them to stand in the light. He possessed many gifts, but the greatest of all was the gift of himself.

—Helga Walter

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

The Thought Police are even more insidious than I imagined. In my computer I have a spelling-check program that's perfectly content if I use the word "ultraconservative." But if I type "ultraliberal," It beeps to tell me there's no such word.

Nick Martin
Monarch Beach, Calif.

Dear Mr. Martin: Your computer is politically correct. Under Mr. Clinton's budget act, computers that list the word "ultraliberal" are subject to a surcharge of $100. If they also smoke cigarettes, $175. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Bill:

Here is a copy of the letter I sent to our friend Bill Rickenbacker on the question of accepting Social Security payments even if you disapprove of the system.

Cordially,
Milton [Friedman]

Dear Bill:

In re your letter to WFB, I use Medicare and every other service and advantage that is legally available to me, though like you I oppose Medicare and Social Security and have for many decades written in favor of their abolition. I do not believe that there is any moral conflict involved whatsoever.

A personal anecdote will perhaps explain best my justification for that behavior. The Department of Economics, of which I was a member, voted at one point to institute an annual prize for the best article published in its professional journal. As chairman of the committee to make the final decision for one year, I requested fellow members of the department to nominate three articles for the prize. One member of the department wrote back saying that, since he had voted against the department's giving the prize, he felt no obligation to participate in the choice of the article to receive it. I suspect that as a member of the department you would have been as outraged as I was at that reaction.

The United States is in a way a club to which I belong, not indeed voluntarily but by reason of birth. However, I have not seceded from it. I bear the burdens it imposes. I am equally entitled to receive the benefits. I do not believe that either the one or the other should inhibit my urging upon the public the policies that I believe desirable.

Sincerely yours,
Milton Friedman
Stanford, Calif.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Did it occur to you that Democrats are hypocrites? They are.

During a nationally televised broadcast West Virginia's Senator Byrd wore an imported necktie while pleading for help for American workers.

And on the very same TV broadcast our President wore another imported necktie while making the very same plea. I seen 'em when they done it.

Angrily yours,
William H. Newton
Houston, Tex.

Dear Mr. Newton: It has certainly occurred to me that many Democrats are hypocrites, but I don't think you establish this with the evidence at hand. America exported $640 billion worth of goods in 1992. Inevitably, these exports, which employ at least 13 million American workers, require reciprocal dollar flows. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I would appreciate a translation of your motto "Quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi" ["Notes & Asides," Oct. 18].

My sources translate it as "What is permitted to God, is not allowed to the cow."

I'm sure this is not accurate and will await your corrections.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Evelyn Gerety
New Fairfield, Conn.

Dear Mrs. Gerety: There is no idiomatic sentence that translates *Quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi.* But you have hold of the idea: That which God (Jupiter, Jove) is permitted to do, is not permitted to a cow to do. What it boils down to is an anti-egalitarian aphorism which, very freely translated, would say something like, "Yes, but you're not Marilyn Monroe." Cordially, **—WFB**

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ON THE SCENE

NAFTA Endgame

BRIT HUME

Alice Mooney Imeson

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WHEN Representative Joseph Kennedy came to the White House October 21 to announce he would support the North American Free Trade Agreement, he was ushered into the press briefing room to say his piece. Earlier in the day, Senator Carol Moseley Braun had made a similar NAFTA declaration, but had to make her statement in the less exalted setting of the White House driveway. The same venue was provided a day earlier to her Illinois colleague, Paul Simon. Letting young Kennedy use the briefing platform, with the plaster-of-Paris White House logo hanging behind him, may seem a small courtesy on a rainy afternoon. But UPI's Helen Thomas, dean of the White House press corps, said it was the first time a Kennedy had spoken from that platform since the Kennedy Administration. Keep in mind that NAFTA is in trouble in the House, not the Senate. The Clinton Administration, after some earlier hesitancy, seems at last prepared to do what it has to to pass the trade agreement.

The Administration still has a lot to do, but there are reasons to think the task may not be as difficult as both the White House and congressional Republicans have thought. Their mutual worry has been fed by mutual distrust. The President, facing a major defection of old-line Democrats under intense pressure from labor, needs about 110 Republican votes. Republicans, suspicious of the Clinton commitment to a treaty negotiated by George Bush and Carla Hills, say they may not be able to deliver unless Mr. Clinton can produce at least as many Democrats. Mr. Clinton is handicapped by the loss of both House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt and Majority Whip David Bonior, who both oppose the agreement. That makes it harder not only to round up votes, but also to get an accurate count, and not just of Democrats. The White House is accustomed to relying on Bonior, who has contacts among moderate Republicans, for his head counts of Republicans as well as Democrats. On this, the Administration now has to depend on GOP Whip Newt Gingrich, a man they neither like nor trust. Gingrich, of course, feels the same way about the White House.

One might think the Republicans, eager to vindicate their former President, and ideologically disposed toward free trade, would be for NAFTA regardless, but it's rarely so simple in the House. Labor, with help from strange bedfellows ranging from Pat Buchanan to Ross Perot to Ralph Nader, has whipped up stiff opposition to the agreement, playing on the pessimism and insecurity people feel about the economy. The anti-NAFTA mood is most intense in blue-collar Democratic districts, but is not confined to those districts. So completely have labor and its allies dominated the NAFTA debate that there is strong opposition in many Republican-held districts as well. NAFTA is seen now as a tough yes vote for nearly everybody. Senior Clinton aide David Dreyer said the White House is expecting a vote-by-vote struggle down to the last day with the agreement winning by only the narrowest margin. "In the end, it will be like the budget," he says. "We'll be within one vote of losing by eighty." That may sound strange, but it's not uncommon on a major controversy for a President to be holding only as many votes as he needs to win, and only on the condition that he can win. Nobody wants to cast an unpopular vote in a losing cause. "The problem," says Dreyer, "is that nobody wants this. There's just no popular sentiment for it. There's nothing that can match the focused intensity of the opposition."

Gingrich has blamed that on the White House, and particularly on Mr. Clinton. "He has just not focused in the sort of narrow, intense, annoying way that you guys in the White House press corps have to report on whether you like it or not," he says. On October 19, Gingrich said the Clinton effort on NAFTA was "pathetic." Gingrich says the President has repeatedly alienated potential Republican support by derogatory references to the 1980s, when their party controlled the White House. "Every time he starts going on about the last 12 years, my guys say, 'We should vote for this guy?' "

The President was at it again October 20, at, of all things, a NAFTA event at the White House. "The people who are fighting this are bringing to this fight the resentments that they have over what happened in the 1980s. You heard me talk about it—how many decent people lost their jobs; how many times did we see people shut down and move to other countries." Asked about this, White House

Mr. Hume is chief White House correspondent for ABC News.

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aides seemed surprised and a little amused that Mr. Clinton's rhetoric was causing so much heartburn in the opposition party. George Stephanopoulos said the President might tone it down, but would not "stop saying what he believes."

The tension over such matters obscures the larger fact that the President, for all the hoopla over health care, has placed increasing emphasis on the trade agreement. Indeed, the organizing theme of his domestic program—security for Americans in exchange for their risk-taking for the future—was dreamed up largely as a way to sell NAFTA, and to link it to the health-care program. It is a questionable, if profoundly liberal, notion—that people are more inclined to take risks and make changes in their lives when they feel secure than when they feel threatened.

But conservatives should not overlook the difficulty Mr. Clinton faces selling the trade agreement in his own party. Protectionism may be an intellectually disreputable idea, but it retains a strong hold in many Democratic circles. Mr. Clinton, bogged down in the long fight over the budget and in the gestation of his health plan, certainly spotted NAFTA's opponents a big lead. But the NAFTA event with three former Presidents at the White House September 14 was inspired, and recruiting Lee Iacocca as a TV spokesman on the issue was too. Mr. Clinton has a savvy political operative in Chicagoan Bill Daley running the White House effort. Moreover, there is evidence that public sentiment on the issue is starting to turn. Polls show it, and members of Congress say they're beginning to feel it.

Republican Representative Donald Manzullo of Rockford, Illinois, for example, says his mail, earlier stuffed with anti-NAFTA postcards, now has more pro-NAFTA letters. Firms in his district such as TC Industries, which makes blade edges for major exporters including Caterpillar and John Deere, have been getting the message to their workers that NAFTA is good for them. What's more, the President has made clear that he's willing to make up the projected lost revenue from reduced tariffs on Mexican goods by some means other than doubling the passenger-ticket and rail-transport taxes on border crossings within North America. The tax-increase idea was a poison pill to Republicans. At a White House meeting October 22, Mr. Clinton seemed to have convinced even Newt Gingrich with promises of an intense sales campaign starting November 1. "I thought it was a very effective presentation," Gingrich said. "Our vote count now is that we have more than enough undecided that by the time we're done explaining the facts and having people look at the facts of what this means for America and American jobs, that we will have a clear and decisive majority." Nobody in the White House is ready to go that far, but Bill Daley thinks that if the Clinton team can keep one hundred Democrats uncommitted until November 1, which it appears it can, then it will be able to deliver its promised half of the 218 votes needed in order to win. □

The Fire Next Time

IAN ALEXANDER

BEIRUT

THE EUPHORIA occasioned throughout the rest of the Middle East by the Arafat–Rabin accords is decidedly not felt here.

In the past year there has been a serious prospect that the Lebanese would manage to reassemble the shards of their shattered society. A determined coalition of local forces, led by businessman-turned-prime-minister Rafik Hariri, has created an amazingly secure climate in Beirut and surrounding areas. With strong support from Saudi Arabia and a quieting at least of overt Syrian mischief-making, the Lebanese pound has dramatically strengthened; real-estate prices have tripled; commercial activity has recommenced—all driven with the characteristic energy that has made Lebanese businessmen leaders throughout much of Arabia, and in markets as distant as Senegal and Brazil.

The end of the beginning of the Israeli–Palestinian peace process has turned the mood somber in Beirut, where Syria and Iran are seen as likely to disrupt the fragile Lebanese recovery in their attempts to disrupt the peace process.

Syria's Hafez al-Assad has lost the most from the celebrated signing between his old nemesis Yasir Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin. A key domestic political card for the Damascus despot was "the Palestinian issue"—with accompanying threats of action against the Israeli foe—whenever the people's minds had to be taken off internal problems. Moreover, Assad was working on his own negotiations with the Israelis to regain the Golan Heights, and reports from Damascus say he is convinced that Arafat's achievement has cost Syria important leverage in the talks with Tel Aviv.

A further political issue at home has been the concept of Greater Syria. Assad has proclaimed his country's right to Lebanon, with as much fervor as Yitzhak Shamir used to preach about Greater Israel. Greater Syria, indeed, was the domestic backdrop Assad used when he occupied Lebanon in 1976 to "stabilize" the civil war among eight warring factions.

Fully as critical to the Assad calculus, however, is the economic value of Lebanon to Syria. During the past decade, the Bekaa Valley, the main corridor between Syria and Lebanon, has become a major narcotics processing and trans-shipment center. Directed and controlled by Hafez al-Assad's brother Rifaat, the business is reported to earn the family in excess of $3 billion annually. The revelation of the most sophisticated currency counterfeiting in history, also located in the Bekaa—$100 bills are the denomination of choice—simply underscores the threat to Western society that the Assad regime poses.

Moreover, Assad's power is dependent on perhaps one thousand senior military officers, virtually all of whom have established lucrative businesses smuggling all manner of contraband products from duty-free Lebanon into duty-punitive Syria. These businesses, created during tours of duty with the Syrian occupation forces, provide the generals and colonels with undreamed-of wealth in otherwise socialist Syria.

Mr. Alexander is an American businessman with more than 25 years' experience in the Middle East.

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The Iranian regime, meantime, under President Rafsanjani, has established its own strong position via the well-trained *hezbollah* militia, drawn from the country's *shia* Muslim sect (which is considered heretical except in Iran, where it is dominant). The *hezbollah*, numbering well in excess of 25,000 fighters, are considered an important strategic reserve by Iran, ready to destabilize the hated Israel, or any of the Arab states, to further Iran's disruptive strategy for the entire region [see "Troubled Oil," *NR*, Aug. 9].

D. F. Bach

In Teheran's view, peace in the region can only hurt its already parlous economic position, strained by its huge military build-up and its support for revolutionaries. Peace, the thinking goes, will cause an industrial and commercial upswing in the Arabian peninsula, with Israel and the Arab states collaborating as never before. It would also bring pressure on Saddam Hussein to come to terms, thus making Iraq's two to three million barrels of oil per day once again exportable, a threat to Iran's desire to keep the price of its dominant export commodity high. Add to the above the fact that Iran and Syria have enjoyed warm relations for more than a decade (Iran could not have trained the *hezbollah* without Syrian connivance), and the odds get longer for a peaceful future for Lebanon.

The alliance between Damascus and Teheran has its foundation in the Assad family's adherence to the tiny *alawi* sect of Islam, very distinct from the dominant *sunni* and correspondingly close to the *shia*.

More practically, the two leaderships share antipathies in the convoluted politics of the region: against Saddam Hussein; against Yasir Arafat; against Hosni Mubarak of Egypt; against Israel. On the humanitarian side of the alliance, during the eight-year-long Iran–Iraq war Damascus received thousands of Iranian war widows, brought to Syria to seek new husbands. One and sometimes two of the larger Damascus hotels were filled with these forlornly hopeful ladies-in-waiting.

The challenge to the diplomacy of Western and friendly regional powers is to complete the peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors, and simultaneously maintain and validate the peace in strategically strained Lebanon. However, the choices for achieving the latter are very limited.

The most obvious solution would be the deposition of Hafez al-Assad, ridding Syria of a hated despot, and the region of its most wily troublemaker.

This would also yield the opportunity to rid Lebanon of the poisons of narcotics and currency counterfeiting, plus probably terminally weakening the *hezbollah* (Syria's next leadership would almost certainly come from the mainstream *sunni*, not from the Iran-leaning *alawi*).

A tough choice would remain: between allowing continued Syrian domination of Lebanon, in return for a binding agreement to demilitarize and detoxify the country; and supplying strong military support to the Hariri regime in Beirut, to keep the peace and clean out the troublemakers.

None of the above will be easy to accomplish. Nevertheless, one of the above will have to occur, if Lebanon is not to descend anew into an internal war which will benefit no one—except perhaps Syria and Iran. □

A Crisis of Competence

VIN WEBER

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOON after the recent firefight in Mogadishu, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin was called to Capitol Hill to give an emergency briefing on the Administration's response to the Somali crisis.

American forces had taken heavy losses in a gun-battle with militiamen loyal to warlord Mohammed Aidid; 17 Americans were dead, 77 were wounded, 1 was missing in action, and 1 had been taken prisoner. Pictures of a Somali mob dragging the body of a dead American soldier through the streets flashed on the evening news. Members of Congress wanted answers: What had gone wrong? Why were we caught off guard? How were we going to respond? And what exactly was the Administration's objective in Somalia?

But Aspin had no answers; he had come with the intention of holding a dialogue. *Big* mistake. The meeting quickly grew white hot, and Aspin took a verbal pummeling from furious congressmen who had expected him to present a coherent plan of action. As members emerged from the meeting, they were unusually harsh in their criticism of Aspin and of the whole Administration.

Alan Nahigian

Mr. Weber, the former congressman from Minnesota, is co-founder of the new conservative group Empower America.

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"Outrageous," fumed Senator Bob Kerrey (D., Neb.).

"Never have I heard a more confused, disjointed, vague defense of American foreign policy in my professional career," complained Representative Jim Walsh (R., N.Y.).

As congressional criticism grew louder and more heated, the situation was reaching crisis proportions. President Clinton cut short a campaign trip to California, where he was promoting his health-care plan. In an effort to articulate some modicum of policy, he gave a televised address from the Oval Office in which he announced a pull-out date of March 31, 1994. The speech served to calm things down and buy him time. Most members, appreciating the threat to our international prestige, fell in line behind the President. Bob Dole extended an olive branch to the White House, appealing to members to "come together and not quibble over a date." Congress backed off—less because it supports the President's policy than out of a basic loyalty to the Commander-in-Chief. As Senator Mitch McConnell (R., Ky.) put it, "At this point there is no good alternative but to support the President."

The immediate uproar had been stilled, but its underlying cause remains. Expressing publicly what many in Congress are saying privately, Senator Richard Lugar recently complained that, since taking office, Clinton has presided over "a virtual collapse of presidential leadership in [foreign] matters. . . . There is almost a sense of incompetence."

Indeed, confidence in Mr. Clinton's ability to lead is so low that nearly a dozen amendments have been proposed in both Houses restricting the President's ability to commit troops abroad. Even Mr. Clinton's friends in Congress are beginning to urge a major shake-up of his foreign-policy team in order to restore faith in the Administration's foreign-affairs competence. Democratic Representative Frank McCloskey, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Security, recently called on Secretary of State Warren Christopher to step down, stating that "the effect of Christopher's mishandling of these vital issues is that he is not seen by our allies as an effective or serious secretary of state."

How did we come to this? Since taking office, the Clinton Administration has essentially abdicated its leadership responsibilities on the world stage, creating a power vacuum. With nobody steering the ship of state, others have moved in.

When the Bush Administration sent troops to Somalia back in December 1992, it did so with a clear and limited objective: to go in, feed starving people, and get out. But when Clinton took office, instead of completing the mission and pulling out, he allowed Secretary General Boutros-Ghali to turn what was originally a humanitarian effort into a complex scheme of "nation building."

That abdication of responsibility exploded in the President's face with the firefight in Mogadishu. And then when Secretary Aspin arrived on Capitol Hill and demonstrated that the White House essentially had no policy, Congress was infuriated.

It was in this hostile atmosphere that the President announced his intention to commit U.S. troops to Haiti, in an effort to help "build democracy" there and assist the restoration of ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. For many in Congress, this was too much. They had no confidence that

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the President would not turn Haiti into "another Somalia."

Dole, for example, proposed amendments to restrain the President from sending any American forces to either Haiti or Bosnia, except to rescue Americans or to protect American national security. To avert a war-powers battle with the Senate, the White House immediately began negotiating with Dole to water the amendments down from legally binding requirements to "Sense of the Senate" resolutions requesting congressional consultation. Dole eventually agreed, and both amendments passed by wide margins. Senator Robert Byrd (D., W.Va.) proposed a similar amendment on Somalia, which would have forced the President to pull out all our troops before March 31. After intense negotiations with the White House, Byrd accepted language with lesser restrictions on U.S. actions, and his amendment passed the Senate last week.

The amendments proposed by Dole, Byrd, and others, while misguided, are not so much a congressional "power grab" as they are an effort to fill a power vacuum created by President Clinton. Dole, for his part, was clearly not motivated by a philosophical desire to restrict presidential decision-making power in foreign affairs. Speaking on CNN as recently as October 7, Dole criticized congressional efforts to exert greater control over U.S. policy in Somalia, stating: "Whenever possible on foreign-policy matters, where American forces are involved and American forces are in danger, we ought to be speaking with one voice, and that voice ought to be the President's."

But Dole seems to have come to the same reluctant conclusion that many others in Congress have—that the current Clinton team cannot be trusted to project U.S. forces responsibly.

The dangers this crisis of confidence poses are several. First, in the immediate term, there is a danger that, by squandering public faith in his ability to act on the world stage, President Clinton may be hampered from acting when vital U.S. interests really are at stake. Today, through his various missteps, he is doing more for the cause of isolationism than a thousand Pat Buchanans ever could.

Second, and perhaps worse, the President is running the risk not only of undermining domestic support for U.S. engagement in the world, but of damaging America's prestige abroad, undercutting his Administration's ability to lead our allies the next time a crisis (renewed Iraqi aggression, for example) erupts.

And third, in the longer term, Clinton's missteps today could hamper the ability of future Presidents to conduct foreign policy. Not since the 1970s, when a weakened President Nixon allowed Congress to pass the War Powers Act, has Congress been so anxious to restrict the President's authority in international affairs. Unlike past power struggles between the White House and Congress over foreign affairs, however, this one is not over policy—it is over competence. There is a growing danger that, if the President does not act to restore trust in his international leadership, there might be a permanent shift in the balance of executive–legislative power in foreign policy.

There is one bit of comfort to be taken: the Somalia fiasco may have hammered the final nail into the coffin of the New Democrat Doctrine of multilateralism. Until this crisis erupted, the Clinton Administration was moving toward a greater involvement with the United Nations in Somalia-style "nation building" efforts. Administration officials had drafted "Presidential Decision Directive 13"—a document which would have committed the U.S. to a "rapid expansion" of UN peacekeeping operations. The White House was considering committing U.S. forces to a permanent UN army under foreign command. All such talk has stopped for now, and it is very unlikely in the current atmosphere that Congress would ever approve such a commitment.

It is still possible for President Clinton to recover. One first step being recommended by some is to replace Aspin and Christopher with secretaries of state and defense who would have the confidence of Congress. But, even if the President did this, it would only be a short-term solution. The real problem with the Clinton foreign policy lies with the President himself. He seems to regard foreign affairs as some sort of distraction from his domestic agenda. Until he recognizes that foreign policy is the primary and most important job of a President, these crises will continue to erupt. □

"Absolutely Heavenly"

Nika Hazleton, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, Jan 22, 1990
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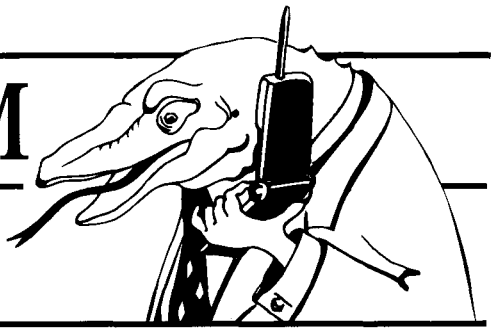
RANDOM WALK



■ Robert Rubin of Goldman Sachs made out like a bandit on Wall Street in the 1980s—but somehow he never became a symbol of the Greed of the Reagan years. Instead of a country-club prison, he moved into a White House office, where, however, there is much wailing and gnashing of teeth.

For Mr. Rubin's boss promised eight million new jobs over four years, but through September he's already about 250,000 behind the pace needed. High-wage manufacturing employment has actually *fallen* on Clinton's watch—even though the nation is supposedly in the recovery phase of the business cycle. And the American Management Association forecast last month that layoffs would continue through 1994: In major U.S. corporations "downsizing has become an ongoing activity that shows no sign of abating."

Still, the blame for a jobless recovery is not wholly Mr. Clinton's. The past five years have seen a steep rise in regulation. In 1989 Congress hiked the minimum wage; in 1990 it passed the Disabilities Act, the Civil Rights Act, a $150-billion tax hike, a Social Security payroll-tax hike, and the Clean Air Act Amendments.

With the usual effects. The hike in the minimum wage has contributed to a near doubling of black teenage unemployed. The Clean Air Act Amendments are just starting to decimate whole American industries, including the oil-refinery business. The Disabilities and Civil Rights Acts have triggered billion-dollar discrimination lawsuits against unwary employers.

Thanks to the rash of mandated fringe benefits, government is pricing *full-time* workers out of the market. As manufacturing employment has fallen, overtime and hours worked in manufacturing have reached an all-time high. The temporary-employment category now involves some two million workers and is growing at a rate of 20 per cent per year. The Clintonites complain that businesses, averse to hiring new full-time workers, have opted for temps who don't get mandated benefits and who offer employers more flexibility. Exactly.

Worse, the political outlook is for more, not fewer, intrusive work laws. The White House supports indexing the minimum wage to inflation; a law prohibiting the permanent hiring of striker replacements; and a new 7.9 per cent employer payroll "premium" to pay for health insurance. Also, Pat Schroeder would require businesses to pay part-timers a pro-rata share of all full-time fringe benefits—to make them as uncompetitive as full-timers.

Well, Congress can mandate that workers are entitled to munificent benefits and pay, but it *can't* mandate businesses to hire workers in the first place. What we have in the 1990s is an ever expanding line of unemployed workers *not* receiving an ever-expanding list of mandated benefits.

So invest in companies that have *already* downsized, for instance automakers. Or in robots: they take no holidays, never strike, enjoy no benefits—and they never get pregnant.

■ "It's the same old shell game."

"All the 'you can't take it with you' stuff turned out to be nonsense. This baby's full of fifties."

"Clinton's whole program is very anti-growth."

Rush Limbaugh? Newt Gingrich? No, the words of Richard T. Weiss, money manager to the President. Mr. Weiss's Strong Opportunity Fund is one of the two mutual funds to which the Clintons have entrusted their IRAs. They chose well—Mr. Weiss and the Janus Fund (the other) have records among the best in the U.S.

But here is Mr. Weiss's opinion of the money-management skills of his client, the President: ". . . my suspicion is that when President Clinton gets through raising taxes on anything that walks or talks or breathes, and increases the regulatory side of government, we will be looking at a pretty poor economic environment beyond '93. . . . Eventually, we are all going to be in for a big shock."

So Mr. Weiss increasingly invests the Clintons' retirement money out of the country. Not for the first time. It has been invested in DeBeers for over a year, right there in black and white in the Fund's twice-yearly reports to shareholders, of which the Clintons get two, one for him and one for her.

The Janus Fund's shareholder report is no more encouraging: "Major changes in regulations and taxes are being considered. . . . The potential for change creates uncertainty and clouds the outlook for future profits."

That's Mr. Clinton's financial advisor talking. Gives a whole new poignancy to the notion of capital flight.

■ Finally, here's something to cheer you up. Left-wing economist Robert Kuttner writes in the *Washington Post* that with the 1993 budget in place, the budget deficit will fall to less than 3 per cent of GDP in 1993. "At that level, the national debt begins shrinking relative to the growth of the real economy," Mr. Kuttner says gleefully. "In other words, the great deficit crisis is basically over." When Ronald Reagan left office in 1989 the deficit was *already* less than 3 per cent of GDP, and the projection at that time was that it would fall to 2 per cent by 1992. Yet I can't recall Mr. Kuttner, or a single other left-leaning economist, celebrating the end of the deficit crisis. Still, he sounds one note of caution: "The only danger is that Congress will overshoot in its zeal to reduce the deficit." Bob, don't lose a moment's sleep over it.

—GEKKO

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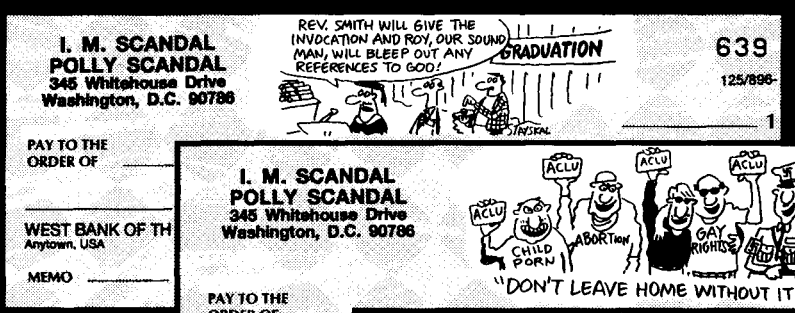
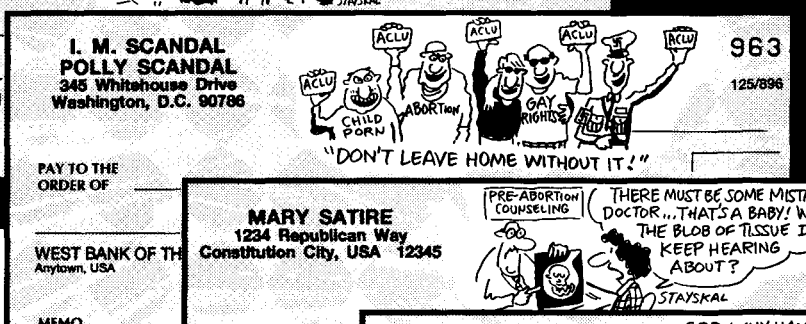
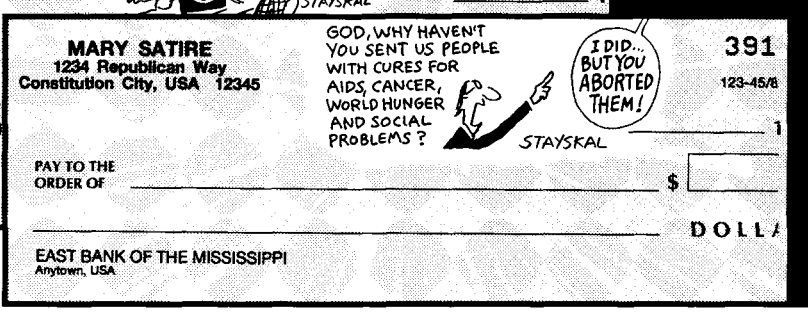
Announcing the Politically Incorrect★ BANK CHECK

political statements from the pen of well known editorial cartoonist **Wayne Stayskal**







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—anonymous

★Definitions:

Politically Correct: the proper and approved statement or action in a given situation – *(As seen through the myopic eyes of the self righteous, over indulgent, free spending, back stabbing, old boy Pork Barrel Bureaucrats, their hangers-on, Till-Dipping fellow travellers, and wanabees)*

Politically Incorrect: opposite of politically correct

Zinger: \'ziŋ-ər\ *n* (1955) a pointed witty remark or retort (*Webster*)

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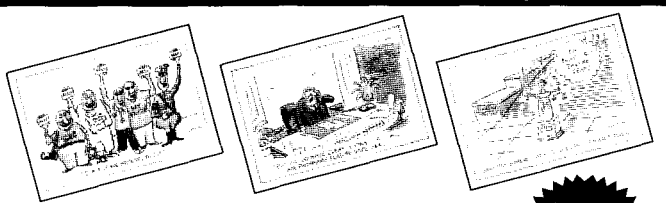

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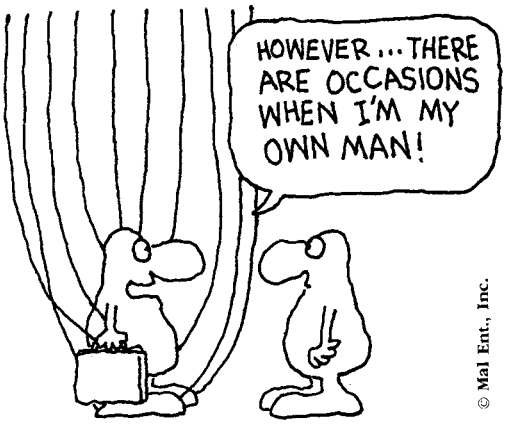
W. H. VON DREELE



"Simpson takes pride in being accessible to the media."

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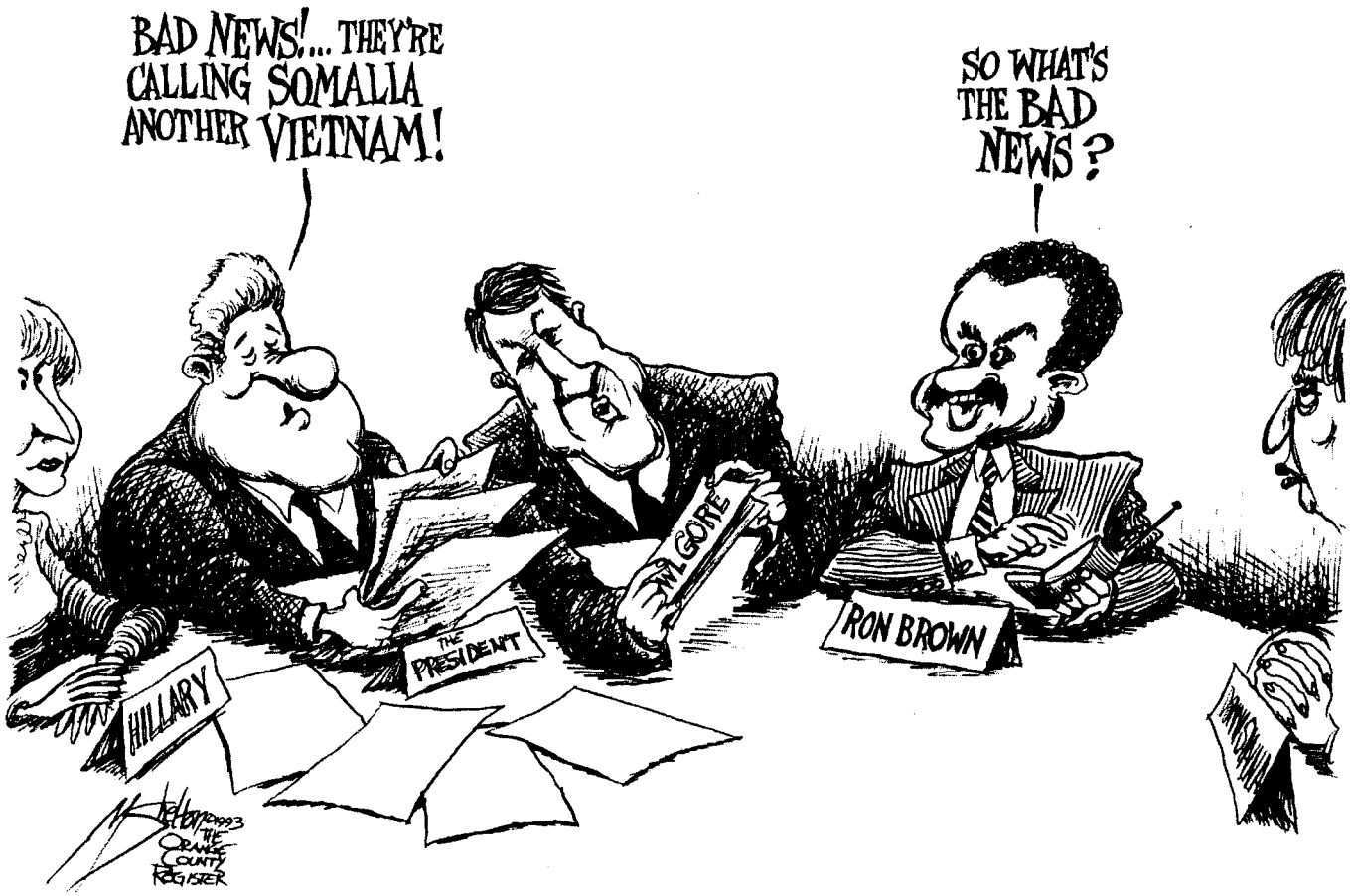

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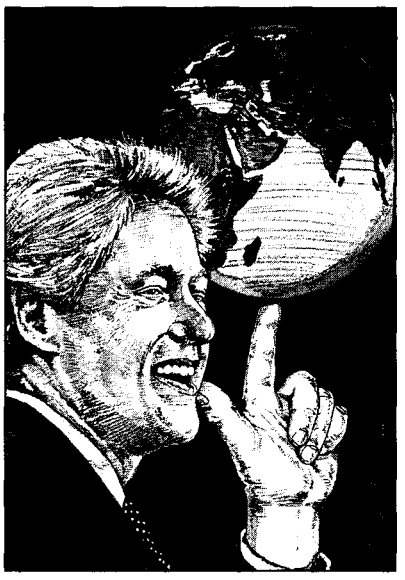

The Clinton Foreign and Defense Policies

BILL'S WORLD

The last thing you would expect from Vietnam peaceniks is a repetition of LBJ's mistakes. But here come Bill Clinton and his Departments of State and Defense.

PETER W. RODMAN

THE CLINTON team came into office confident that with the Cold War over, they could spend most of their time on domestic affairs and refocus the foreign-policy agenda on good causes like promoting democracy and saving the ozone layer. But history has played a cruel trick on them. It has confronted them with a series of traditional, hardball challenges, particularly in the security realm, that put a premium on military power and strategic judgment—challenges for which they have seemed psychologically and intellectually ill-prepared. The result is an Administration that has proved accident-prone in a big way.

That is why the Republicans must not drift into isolationism. Exploiting the anti-interventionist mood is not a long-term strategy. Republicans need to maintain their reputation for seriousness on these issues: first, for the good of the country, and second, because foreign policy and national security are likely to be among Bill Clinton's biggest vulnerabilities.

Mr. Clinton, of course, comes out of the McGovern tradition. He paid tribute to George McGovern in September 1991: "History has borne you out, and I'm still proud to have worked for you." But in this area as in other policy areas, he campaigned as a "New Democrat," avowing a more muscular internationalism that turned its back on Vietnam-era guilt and timidity. On the litmus-test issue of willingness to use American power, Clinton sounded as forthright as could be. He told a New York audience on April 1, 1992:

> I would never turn over the security of the United States to the United Nations or any other international organization. We can never abandon our prerogative to act alone when our vital interests are at stake. Our motto in this era must be: "Together where we can, but on our own where we must."

In a recent series of foreign-policy speeches by top officials, the most substantive was that of National Security Advisor Anthony Lake. Lake outlined a commitment to American engagement to enlarge the sphere of the democratic world. It was an elegant statement of internationalist aspiration. The problem is that it is a hollow internationalism, undercut, overtly or implicitly, by the Administration's own policies.

Primum Non Nocere

SOME particular issues the Clinton Administration has handled reasonably well.

The President was correct to support Boris Yeltsin. The Administration has actually come a long way on this. Rumors of a crackdown last March prompted a flood of leaked warnings that Yeltsin should not do anything that would get his hands dirty: U.S. officials said they would "draw the line" if Yeltsin tried a "Fujimori solution." By the October crisis, however, they had grown wiser, and spared Yeltsin the human-rights lectures. How much they helped him we can only conjecture; at least they did no harm.

In the Middle East, too, they deserve credit. Everyone knows that Israel and the PLO bypassed Washington in negotiating their September agreement. Nonetheless, the Administration sensibly refrained from Israel-bashing during Israel's deportations of suspected Hamas activists in January and vigorous retaliation against Hezbollah in Lebanon in July. Conceivably, Clinton's steadiness played a part in encouraging the Palestinians' new realism. In any case, the U.S. has also developed a sound doctrine for treating both Iran and Iraq as dangerous threats ("dual containment"); it is taking a harder line against Islamic political extremism, and has continued to support aid for Turkey.

The problems are manifest, however. Some come from inexperience, but most are intellectual in origin, the product of a world view that is not as "evolved" as far from the past as many had hoped.

Mr. Rodman, now an NR *senior editor, was an official in the Reagan and Bush Administrations.*

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Certainly there are hints of a leftish ideology. Most of the items in this category come within the purview of the Congressional Black Caucus—indeed, have been given over, lock, stock, and barrel, to the Black Caucus. In Angola, the Administration has switched sides, from supporting Jonas Savimbi's UNITA to supporting the Marxist MPLA. In South Africa it gives uncritical support to Nelson Mandela's ANC as the sole vehicle of black self-determination, even if that means civil war with the Zulus. And in Haiti, some diabolical spirit has possessed the Clinton team to persist zombie-like in trying to put the demagogue Aristide into power.

On other issues, too, there's the vestigial ideological twitch. Clinton's NSC staffer for Latin America was caught berating some of our Latin friends for being too hard on poor Fidel Castro. In Vietnam, the impulse to cozy up to Hanoi, while it also reflects economic and geopolitical motives, includes a yearning for a grand reconciliation with Hanoi to atone for our sins.

Nevertheless, the bigger problems have arisen not from an orthodox leftism but from conceptual failures of a less romantic variety.

Not-So-Grand Strategy

SOME of the most important stumbles have come on basic issues of strategic judgment.

It is astonishing, for example, that President Clinton has paid so little attention to the Atlantic Alliance. He is the first President in decades not to have set foot in Europe nine months into his term. With the world in turmoil, the starting point of American strategic purpose has to be consolidating the democratic alliances. The relationship with Japan is buffeted by a bullying U.S. trade policy, the European relationship by the wrangle over Bosnia and by an abrupt reduction of U.S. troops one-third below the level George Bush, Dick Cheney, and Colin Powell thought was safe.

This spring, the new French foreign minister, Alain Juppé, visited Washington. Juppé, a Gaullist, represented what was potentially the most pro-American French government in decades. French conservatives fear Germany and have long been free of the anti-American complexes that persist now mainly among the Socialists. Juppé came prepared for a searching dialogue on the basic issues in NATO that had caused the breach with Charles de Gaulle thirty years ago. The response from Warren Christopher? Incomprehension. No one at the State Department had the historical memory or strategic depth to respond to this extraordinary opening. Since that disastrous first visit, an exchange of sorts has begun with the French, and Mr. Clinton plans a NATO Summit in January. But the French came away with the initial impression of an Administration that was strategically brain-dead.

The policy on Russia, too, betrays a geopolitical myopia. In the short run, we were right to back Yeltsin. For

the long run, we need a realistic policy for a Russia that is getting back on its feet geopolitically even before it gets back on its feet economically. Even under Yeltsin, there is a nationalist trend and a reassertion of Russian dominance in much of the sphere of the former USSR.

Yeltsin has asked the world to bless Russia's effort to restore order out of chaos around its periphery. Whatever its motive, however, such a flexing of Russian muscle is objectively disturbing to everyone else. If our first line of defense against a resurgence of the Russian empire is Russian democracy, our second line of defense is the continued independence of all the new nations of the old USSR. Yet many of them have been targets of American strictures on human rights or non-proliferation. More focus on the security of the new nations is a strategic necessity. The Administration seems not to think in these terms.

If the Administration has a global vision, it is one that harks back to Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and Henry Wallace—a "multilateralism" that would give the UN a central place in U.S. foreign policy. As the Gulf War proved, we can benefit from mobilizing an international coalition behind an American policy. But for many in this Administration, multilateralism has less an instrumental than a philosophical purpose. They see legitimacy (especially where force is involved) as residing *only* in collective decisions. Pentagon nominee Morton Halperin wrote this summer in *Foreign Policy*: "The United States should explicitly surrender the right to intervene unilaterally in the internal affairs of other countries by overt military means or by covert operations. Such self-restraint would bar interventions like those in Grenada and Panama, unless the United States first gained the explicit consent of the international community acting through the Security Council or a regional organization."

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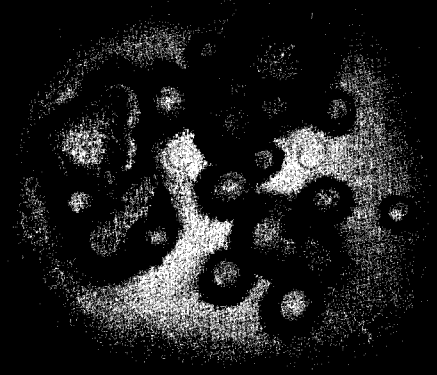
The Big Bad Wolf

The Wicked Witch

The Thing Under the Bed



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The multilateralists see a great advance of civilization in America's being willing to put its armed forces under UN command. American unilateralism is the principal sin to be avoided; America's blood and treasure are to be spilled only in the service of others, not for any selfish American interest. It is, perhaps, another form of atonement.

"We have . . . taken the lead," a State Department cable proudly said in June, "in passing responsibility to a United Nations peacekeeping force" in Somalia. "Taking the lead" and "passing responsibility" might be seen as a contradiction, but for this Administration it was a positive accomplishment to delegate a degree of America's control over its own policy. In May, the U.S. had reduced its forces in Somalia and formally handed over the baton to the UN. Where, for a re-elected President Bush, the handover to the UN might have been a step toward disengaging America and its prestige from the whole enterprise, for President Clinton it only heightened the emotional commitment: Somalia became a crucial test of the centerpiece of the Administration's whole new approach to foreign policy.

A Presidential Decision Directive (PDD 13) intended to formalize the more central role of the UN worked its way through the bureaucracy during the summer and fall. It leaked, however, and ran into a barrage of criticism from leaders of both parties. The President was forced into a humiliating speech at the UN General Assembly warning against the excesses of UNophilia that his own Administration had been fostering. When Somalia degenerated into crisis, the political reality became even more obvious: The abstract commitment to multilateralism turned out to be an elitist conceit that didn't wash with the public. There seems, in the end, to be a direct correlation between the country's tolerance for casualties and its perception that concrete *American* interests are involved. The broad bipartisan uproar was a stunning rebuke to an approach that had tried, in Jeane Kirkpatrick's words, to purge the very concept of national self-interest from our foreign policy.

The Aspin Doctrine

IF OUR troubles in Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti reflect an idiosyncratic concept of our global objectives, they are compounded by an intellectual confusion over means, particularly the use of force.

The problem is revealed ironically in the military action that was most applauded, the June 26 retaliation against Baghdad for the aborted assassination attempt on George Bush. The cruise-missile attack destroyed Iraq's military-intelligence headquarters. But its political impact was diminished by all the soothing reassurances in which the military action was clothed.

Every statement by the President and his associates stressed that the retaliation was "proportional" to or "commensurate" with the provocation. The Administration emphasized the limitations it imposed on itself (such as attacking at night in order to minimize casualties). All this showed a fundamental misunderstanding both of international law and of the requirements of defeating terrorism. International law is not so cramped as to require that we hobble our responses to terrorist threats. The point is to make the costs of terrorism prohibitive, not to make them "proportional."

And proportional to what? Is there a market in assassination plots that tells us that one ex-President is worth one headquarters, 23 cruise missiles, and a future draft choice? A Bekaa Valley Dow Jones? Proportionality, in fact, is a highly elastic standard. We could just as easily have struck five targets—or attacked the headquarters in daytime to decapitate its leadership—and declared it an appropriate response. After all, the plot against Bush was, as Mr. Clinton correctly said, "an attack against our country and against all Americans." It's up to us to put a price on that.

The inhibition is not an accident, but a matter of doctrine. The Clinton team has revived the idea that incremental, demonstrative, and symbolic uses of force are an effective instrument of policy. It explicitly rejects the lesson that many others drew from Lyndon Johnson's 1965 bombing of North Vietnam—that the self-imposed limits convey hesitation, not determination, and are a guarantee of failure. On the March 7 Brinkley show, Les Aspin affirmed: "You take the thing one step at a time, you pursue the policy. If that doesn't work . . . well, then, you have to look at the issue again. . . . [W]e take it a step at a time and see where we end up."

In his confirmation hearings, Mr. Aspin had explained that with the end of the Cold War, the critique of incrementalism no longer applied: with the Soviets gone, he said, we need not fear a loss of credibility if we backtrack after a tentative step. Yet, the critique of incrementalism had nothing to do with the Soviets; it had a lot to do with the resilience of Third World thugs like Ho Chi Minh (or Mohammed Farah Aidid, or Slobodan Milosevic), who inevitably interpreted incrementalism as hesitation. (Fear of Soviet intervention may indeed have been one of LBJ's excuses for hesitation—an excuse now *removed* by the Cold War's end.)

The Aspin Doctrine is nothing other than a return to the old impulse to use military force on the cheap. It is the Bay of Pigs syndrome, the syndrome of Carter's Desert One raid that aborted for want of helicopters, the dream of accomplishing objectives "surgically." Just as in 1965, whatever the analytical patina, we are seeing liberal Democrats who are still psychologically uncomfortable with the use of force.

Sending troops into conflict is the most agonizing decision that Presidents have to make. But their choice is either to act or not to act. As Henry Kissinger points out, doing it hesitantly—and failing—will not take the moral curse off it. Once our forces are committed, our moral imperative is to prevail.

In both Somalia and Haiti, there has been a huge gap between the lofty goals and the minimal forces committed to accomplish them—two fiascos waiting to happen. If Mr. Clinton cared enough about remaking these societies in the Jeffersonian image, then his requirement was to send an overwhelming force capable of dominat-

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ing the situation and imposing our will. Had he done so, those of us who questioned the importance of the objective might at least have conceded the coherence of the strategy. But the obvious inadequacy of the military leverage that was used set us up for humiliation in both places—abandonment of the war against Aidid, and the Haitian junta's continuing defiance of the United States.

There is a ghost hovering in the Oval Office—that of LBJ, a Democratic President who preferred domestic affairs but got sucked into a major war he didn't understand, egged on by advisors who were in over their heads. Faced with the choice between going in in a big way and backing off, Mr. Clinton has so far backed off—probably correctly. But he should now be asking himself how he got into this position. He should notice the pattern—of wildly ambitious goals sought by inadequate means, of an unserious approach to the use of force that has proved (once again) a recipe for failure.

The Tarnoff Doctrine

AN INSIGHT into the Administration's thinking came in background remarks by Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff at a press luncheon on May 25. He stressed that the U.S. would always proceed multilaterally, with only rare "exceptions" in cases of "imminent danger very close to home": "We simply don't have the leverage, we don't have the influence, we don't have the inclination to use force and we certainly don't have the money to bring to bear the kind of pressure that will produce positive results any time soon." Thus did many of the philosophical themes come together—the reluctance of the U.S. to assert its own national purposes; the shying away from the use of force; the deference to our domestic problems; and an undercurrent of belief in America's decline. If Lake's speech was the elegant claim to internationalism, Tarnoff's remarks were the admission of a different reality—what Thomas L. Friedman of the *New York Times* has bitingly labeled a strategy of "self-containment."

This is an Administration that likes to talk about "investment in our future." But in three critical areas its policies are consuming capital.

The first area is defense, in which it is accelerating the Bush–Cheney five-year defense drawdown by an additional $127 billion. The impact on our ability to project our power is well dissected by Eliot Cohen (see p. 40), as are Mr. Aspin's contortions in trying to concoct a coherent military strategy with inadequate resources. The main point is that the U.S. will not be able to exert influence as before if the sinews of its power are weakened. To think we can maintain our traditional world leadership with reduced strength is a form of voodoo national-security policy.

A second area, already discussed, is the willingness to intervene abroad. The confusion in Somalia and Haiti, and the plan to send 25,000 U.S. troops to police an unstable and unjust agreement in Bosnia, have generated a sharp reaction among the public against the humanitarian interventionism to which the Administration is so dedicated. "War powers" resolutions now abound in Congress. The country is not isolationist; witness its fortitude in Desert Storm. But nothing is more likely to discredit overseas intervention in the minds of the American people than interventions that are misguided or bungled. By a bitter irony, a self-proclaimed internationalist Administration has poisoned the political climate for international engagement.

Warren Christopher, indeed, is already acting as if the turn toward diplomacy in Somalia vindicates his long-standing aversion to using force at all.

The third critical area—trade—has suffered the same fate. Mr. Clinton waffled on NAFTA for a year, praising the treaty occasionally but always tipping his hat to the side negotiations which were the ticking time bombs put there by the protectionists. Reluctant to take on the trade reactionaries in his own party, he tried to have it both ways as long as possible. When the time came to commit himself, the President found that NAFTA's ene-

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mies had used the passage of time to their advantage. The domestic political base for free trade had been allowed to erode.

The battle over NAFTA has become a test of strength between two visions of America's role in the world. If NAFTA loses, the GATT accord will be at risk and the whole Perot/Buchanan foreign-policy agenda will be in the ascendant—including wholesale troop withdrawals from Europe and Asia. The balance of forces in Congress will tilt powerfully against those committed to responsible international engagement.

This will be Bill Clinton's legacy. It is all well and good to focus the nation's mind on unsolved domestic problems; even George Bush would have done so in a second term. But the price of neglecting and disparaging foreign policy has been the erosion of the domestic base for American internationalism. In the vacuum of leadership, xenophobia and fear run riot. When the occasion arises, as it inevitably has done, that Mr. Clinton needs and tries to rally domestic support for some international endeavor, it's no longer there. It has been sapped by the philosophy of retrenchment, the ideology of abdication, the professions of weakness that seem to be the underlying premises of his foreign policy.

With the end of the Cold War, many of the traditional divisions between Right and Left in our national debate on foreign policy no longer exist. This is now a cliché. But as every month goes by, it becomes increasingly clear that some important differences remain—the difference between strength and weakness, between maturity and immaturity in the use of force, between our national dignity and an apparently incurable liberal preoccupation with America's moral insufficiency.

The critical variable is the quality of our political leadership at home. Desert Storm proved that the country stands up to its responsibilities when it's well led. Whatever the inhibitions of our morally exhausted elite, most of us do *not* believe America is in decline, or helpless, or incapable of leading the world in a new era of dangers. The only question is whether a reckoning will come at home on these issues before some more awful reckoning abroad. □

BEYOND 'BOTTOM UP'

ELIOT A. COHEN

LES ASPIN, then Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, discomfited the Bush Administration in 1992 when he berated it for failing to come to terms with the end of the Cold War. The Bush Administration's "Base Force," he argued, represented nothing more than an across-the-board reduction of the American military, not a thorough rethinking of America's defense needs for a new world. The criticism stung, and for good reason. The Base Force had indeed shrunk the Cold War military, rather than recast it.

Ironically, when Aspin recently issued a "Bottom Up Review" he attracted the same criticism, and with no less cause. This 17-page document (including pictures and graphics) projected a force of ten active and five reserve Army divisions, eleven active aircraft carriers and other warships, twenty active and reserve Air Force fighter wings, and a three-division Marine Corps. Somewhat smaller than the Bush Administration's Base Force in some areas (e.g., Army divisions) and larger in others (most notably, Marines Corps end strength), the Bottom Up Review structure satisfied no one.

The Review had as its distinguishing analytical feature the setting of a standard of "forces sufficient to fight and win two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts." Each contingency envisioned "an armor-heavy combined arms offensive against the outnumbered forces of a neighboring state." The wars foreseen in this document resembled nothing so much as the peculiar war fought two years ago in the deserts of Arabia. In other words, defense planners anticipated fighting wars against enemies who had learned nothing at all from Saddam's debacle. Nothing about playing on American senitivity to casualties, nothing about using weapons of mass destruction to scare off America' allies, nothing about engaging in ambiguous aggression rather than Saddam's incompetent brutality.

What is worse, the Bottom Up Review promised a capability to cope with two regional fights almost simultaneously. In private, few generals or admirals will agree that any such thing is possible. During the Gulf War the United States Air Force sent two-thirds of its precision-guided bombs and missiles to the fight, and committed well over 50 per cent of its airlift and aerial-refueling aircraft to supporting the deployment and sustaining the force. Moreover, the modern military's need for specialized units or pieces of equipment creates real bottlenecks for forces trying to fight a war. Over 90 per cent of the gear (including even fuel pumps) that the Air Force had stockpiled for operating off unprepared air bases went to the Gulf. There are not many water-purification units, or stevedore outfits, or munition-assembly organizations in either the active forces or the reserves, and without them, you cannot fight a war. The Bottom Up Review assumes that after a quick

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victory in one part of the world, the military can put their men and women on board airplanes and their equipment on board ships and immediately sail off to fight another. This reflects lamentable ignorance about what combat does to military organizations.

Post-Cold-War Muddle

THE Bottom Up Review failed to grapple with many of the real problems facing the Defense Department. It will take years to forge a true post–Cold War military, which is a far more difficult task than either this Administration or its predecessor has let on. Here are five suggestions for a beginning.

1. *Reduce force structure—and deployments.* Small as the Bottom Up Review force looks in comparison to its Cold War predecessor, the structure has not shrunk in numbers comparable to the projected slide in the budget. Military forces, including equipment, pay, spare parts, munitions, and all the rest, tend to rise in per-unit cost over time. A military force that soaked up roughly 6 per cent of the gross domestic product during the Reagan years will soon see its expenditures shrunk in half, to only 3 per cent of GDP, and yet it will remain about three-quarters the size of the Reagan-era force. Something has to give, be it pay, training, replacement of major items, or war stocks. Civilian leaders would rather not make their cuts look too sharp; military leaders will hope against hope that if they keep a lot of units around, sooner or later someone will fund them fully. Thus the nation returns to one of the oldest and most debilitating practices of our peacetime military.

Already, the Pentagon has begun to cut corners, with proposals for keeping military pay raises 1 per cent below inflation—a pennywise policy that would erode the quality and morale of the military over the coming decade. The intensity of training may also begin to fall off, which could weaken the quality of the force and its ability to retain young people who came into the service to shoot tank guns, not paint rocks. In another false economy the Pentagon plans to spend money on research and development, but hold back on large-scale purchases of equipment. Sooner or later, though, major items—planes, ships, tanks—require replacement. Many airplanes in the Gulf had already had over a decade of service (and some two or three) when they began bombing Iraq. Metal fatigue waits for no man. To defer major purchases is merely to ensure a ruinously expensive need for acquisition in 10 or 15 years. A long period of small acquisition orders will mean the loss of manufacturing ability in some industries, and a dramatic (and politically difficult) rise in unit costs of the items the Pentagon does buy.

If the Clinton Administration believes its budget projections, it had better face facts and cut the force structure further. To do that it will have to muster the courage to ask, for example, whether the Marine Corps should continue to retain, as mandated by law, three divisions and three air wings. Indeed, the Marines themselves should desire to shrink in size, because otherwise they will find themselves with a large but increasingly primitive force. The steady trickle of crashes of Marine helicopters reported in the corners of American newspapers reflects not the decaying skill of Marine pilots, but the increasing age of the aircraft they fly.

At the same time, the Marines' deployment requirements make even the three-division structure and 174,000-man strength extraordinarily hard to sustain. Most Marines spend most of their time deployed away from home, with stresses on family life that led General Carl Mundy, their commandant, to an ill-advised but well-intentioned attempt to prevent the marriage of young Marines. The Marines face only somewhat more severe problems than the other services. Air Force personnel, formerly accustomed to a relatively stable home life, now deploy frequently to the Middle East and elsewhere. Army units similarly rotate forward more than previously, and all from a smaller manpower base. As force structure comes down, so too must the pattern of regular overseas deployments that makes the life of many members of the armed forces a source of steady, but all too often unnoticed, family misery.

2. *Nonetheless, force structure is less important than people, organization, and doctrine.* Force structure is, no doubt, important. The Pentagon will consume itself in battles about numbers of divisions, wings, and carrier battle groups, and the senior military leadership may continue to define institutional success in terms of their preservation. But the more important issues for the future are intangible. Before he left office, Joint Chiefs Chairman Colin Powell supervised a review of roles and missions of the armed forces. No one outside the services noticed very much—a symptom of the decay of civilian control of the military over the last few decades. The issues of who does what, and how the armed forces are organized, are at the very heart of what civilian control should be all about. The secretary of defense or his civilian subordinates, and not generals, should supervise such a review. The issues are many and contentious. Should a separate service be created to conduct space operations? Should the Army leave whole mission areas exclusively to the Marines? Should the Navy (as it wishes) really abandon all deep-strike missions to the Air Force? General Powell secured the creation of a single command to organize joint training, without determining the role of the services. Did any civilian monitor this, and investigate whether it really makes sense? He also left as a legacy a new, and often simplistic, orthodoxy of jointness, which has led to such absurdities as the placement of a battalion of Marines on an aircraft carrier, at the expense of many of the carrier's combat aircraft, shortly before a deployment to the Yugoslav coast. Here, too, a large dose of healthy civilian skepticism would have helped.

3. *Better to buy adequate quantities of medium-level technology now, than too little high technology later.* The analytic basis of the Bottom Up Review owes much to a study performed by the RAND corporation called "The New Calculus"—a cheery description of how aircraft delivering advanced conventional munitions could obliter-

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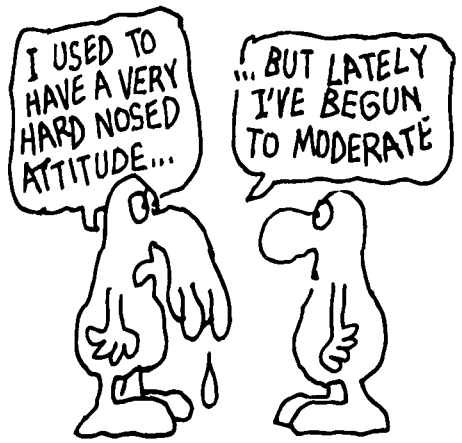
ate simple-minded conventional aggressors of the kind preferred by American analysts. The Aspin Pentagon has chosen to go high tech in its approach to defense, proclaiming the virtues of advanced munitions and promising aggressive research and development of new systems. Clinton defense officials point to the undeniable success of precision-guided weapons in the Gulf War. These munitions enabled American air power to turn out the lights in Baghdad within hours of the beginning of the war, permitted the puncturing of hundreds of supposedly impenetrable hardened aircraft shelters, and led to the destruction of thousands of Iraqi vehicles.

But this high-tech strategy has its drawbacks. Until a weapon has proved itself in combat, commanders simply will not believe in it. The United States may indeed purchase remarkable new brilliant bombs or missiles that, on the proving grounds, wipe out dozens of vehicles on a single pass. In war *games*, commanders may well put their faith in such devices. When the real shooting starts, they will surely use them—and then, just in case, will call for massive supplementary attacks by everything from artillery to B-52 bombers. Furthermore, the high price of high technology means that peacetime buys of such weapons will not meet wartime requirements—as the shortage of some specialized munitions (for example, scatterable mines) in the Gulf War demonstrated. And, finally, high tech usually means specialization. The technological marvel that can detect and kill moving armor can do little against a bridge; the munition that spits cratering rockets into an airfield cannot be used against a hardened command post; the penetrating bomb that can take out a deeply buried bunker will merely inconvenience troops in the field. In the old days high explosives, like a crow bar, could pry open any target. Modern weapons increasingly resemble finely etched keys that can unlock only one particular door.



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The Aspin strategy relies, appropriately, on the overwhelming intelligence advantage the United States demonstrated in the Gulf War. But the elaborate intelligence-gathering aircraft and satellites will not work unless we have more than a couple of platforms actually in use. The space-launch catastrophes that have cost billions of dollars in the last few years have also limited our ability to find out what is happening on earth. And so too have budget cuts which will defer further into the future the purchase of follow-on systems.

4. *Beware "non-traditional missions."* The calamitous collapse of the Bush and Clinton Administrations' intervention in Somalia has, one hopes, induced a measure of caution about the merits of "peacekeeping," "peacemaking," and "humanitarian intervention." Not only have these functions proved far messier in practice than they appeared in campaign speeches; they cost a lot of money and effort. Money, because deployments overseas eat up resources in many ways—including the cost of moving thousands of people overseas, paying them extra to cover some (not all) of their increased expenses, and creating logistical structures to support them. Effort, because for every soldier deployed to a Somalia or a Haiti, at least one other soldier is preparing to replace him, another is recovering from that tour and refurbishing the perishable skills that atrophied during the deployment, and one or, more likely, two more are supporting the other three. Furthermore, the weight of such missions falls disproportionately on some kinds of soldiers rather than others—military police, for example, or civil-affairs officers, who may find themselves deploying repeatedly to one wretched hot spot after another.

The Aspin Pentagon is supposed to have an assistant secretary who will specialize in the use of the armed forces for purposes other than their central, irreducible function—destroying things and killing people in support of national policy. Killing and destruction at minimum cost to oneself (and, increasingly, to enemy noncombatants) requires exceptional training and preparation. If not exercised often and in demanding conditions, those skills dissipate. The civilian leadership, above all, owes it to the nation to make clear just what price will be paid for military adventures that have little to do with preparation for war.

5. *Re-establish civilian control.* Which brings us to the most important problem of all for the future of American defense policy: the establishment of civil–military relations in which civilians exercise the proper supervision of their military subordinates. The Clinton Administration began with an appalling set of episodes, which included junior White House aides insulting combat-decorated generals, junior officers mocking with impunity the Commander-in-Chief (a court-martial offense under the Uniform Code of Military Justice), and a humiliating climbdown by the President on a thoughtless campaign pledge to repeal the military's ban on homosexuals. Some public-relations gestures notwithstanding, the problem remains.

This mixture of indifference to the military's core values and spinelessness in the face of its defiance has undermined discipline throughout the defense establishment. After the Tailhook scandal, the Bush Administration surely erred in failing to demand the resignation of the Chief of Naval Operations—who, as the senior military officer of the service, should have accepted responsibility for the misconduct of his subordinates. It made little sense for the new secretary of the Navy to attempt to fire him two years later—but it made less sense yet for the defense secretary to emas-

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culate the civilian head of the service by ignoring his recommendation.

Real civilian control does not stem from the firing of generals or their public rebuke, although that may occasionally prove necessary. Nor does it result from shrugging off their advice. Nor yet does it consist (as too many conservatives believe) in deferring to military wishes on all occasions. Rather, it consists in affection and respect for military values and the men and women who adhere to them, combined with a remorseless and probing examination of how military organizations do their business. Civilian leaders should rarely dictate. They must have no qualms, however, about cross-examining, querying, and prodding their subordinates on all matters, no matter how petty or technical.

At all times, but particularly as the armed forces shrink, civilian leaders have a particular responsibility to review their personnel systems and to monitor the tone and temperament of military organizations. Anyone familiar with the services knows that as the force has shrunk too many of the people who should have stayed have left; too many of those who have stayed have done so because they have played the promotion game assiduously, getting the right assignments and staying out of trouble. Naturally enough, in a shrinking military, promotion boards seek reasons to turn down officers for higher rank, and they do so by fastening on the mistakes that come from taking risks. In many cases it is too late to do much about it, but the civilian leadership of the Department of Defense must intervene to make sure that the personnel system does not produce an officer corps that is populated by cautious, smooth careerists.

Civilian control also means making sure that in an age of rapid political and technological change, the services remain intellectually open, that the thinkers do not suffer for taking the time to reflect on their profession and speak out about it. The most important institutions of the postwar military are its schools—little-known but vital programs like the Army's School for Advanced Military Studies at Fort Leavenworth. Civilian leaders need to make sure that officers selected for this rigorous course of advanced operational study do not suffer for taking a detour that will lead them away from the normal paths of promotion.

And of course civilians must come down hard if they detect the spread of complacency and conformity in a military that has so recently won a smashing victory in the Persian Gulf. The reality of these dangers recently became quite clear when a field-grade officer in the Army published a critique of planning for the 1989 invasion of Panama. Two outraged generals denounced the officer (apparently a he was a veteran of Operation Just Cause), who hid behind a pseudonym—while ignoring the role of men wearing stars in creating a climate that leads majors to use pen names in order to protect their careers. The smug assertion of one general who declared that "there were no significant negative lessons learned. The operation was conducted as planned, and there were no significant problems" should have set alarms ringing on the desks of civilians throughout the Pentagon. One wonders, alas, whether they even noticed. □

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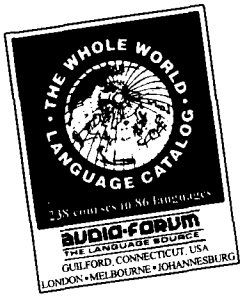

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Political Justice I

GAMBLING ON RENO

Instead of ending Janet Reno's career, the Waco disaster made her the superstar of the Clinton Cabinet. Just how honest—and how competent—is she?

RICH LOWRY

"If the attorney general can think about pre-natal care before she thinks about more prisons, that's got to tell you something."

—Attorney General Janet Reno

DURING her confirmation hearings, Janet Reno was asked how she would react if the White House tried to meddle in a possible indictment of Representative Dan Rostenkowski. Miss Reno replied with endearing bluntness: "I'd say, 'Mr. President, that's not the way to do it. Let the Department of Justice pursue it in the regular course of business. Let's not mix things up. And if you don't want me to be your attorney general, I'll go home.' "

Attagirl. Janet Reno has become the star of the Clinton Cabinet with a well-publicized integrity (she buys her own lunches at the Justice Department cafeteria) and a buck-stops-here attitude made famous after Waco. Not only does she say she's willing to pack her bags for home—her mother built that Florida home by hand, and it is surrounded with pet peacocks. No wonder the press has swooned.

But if Clinton's most celebrated Cabinet member has personal integrity and a no-nonsense sort of flair, what else does she have? There is reason to believe that "the first woman to run the Justice Department" doesn't; the White House and Clinton crony Webster Hubbell share that distinction. Miss Reno's views on fighting crime, morever, hark back to the "root causes" rhetoric of the 1960s. And she presides over a department undergoing the sort of politicization Democrats used to attribute to Reagan–Bush Republicans.

Indeed, when confronted with what seems to have been White House pressure to buy time for Rostenkowski, Miss Reno didn't head for home, she fired every U.S. attorney, including the one investigating the powerful House Ways and Means chairman.

Normally, when control of the Administration changes from one party to the other, the old U.S. attorneys are replaced gradually. Thus, when Tom Corbett, chairman of the U.S.-attorney advisory committee, asked Miss Reno about the transition timetable on Thursday, March 18, and got no answers, he assumed there would be the traditional, slow handover. He reeled when, on Monday morning, Associate Attorney General Hubbell told him the attorneys would have to resign immediately. Literally. "[They] should be able to clear out of their offices over the weekend," one White House politico told Corbett. (Miss Reno was nowhere in sight.) Corbett had to fight just to get the attorneys an extra week to clear out.

The next day Miss Reno called for resignations. Jay Stephens, the U.S. attorney for Washington, D.C., resigned that afternoon, commenting that he had been within thirty days of a "critical decision" about Rostenkowski. (Once Stephens left, the transition lost its urgency; some Republican U.S. attorneys are still on board.) The Illinois congressman may yet be indicted for his alleged abuse of the House Bank, but Stephens's hasty dismissal surely slowed the investigation, leaving Rosty, who loses his chairmanship if indicted, in place to steer Clinton bills through the House.

Politics, Politics

THAT WITHIN days of her confirmation Miss Reno would make such a politically convenient decision shouldn't come as a surprise. A Democrat, Janet Reno won election as state attorney five times in conservative Dade County. Her accessibility was legendary—her home phone number was listed—but the flip side of her "responsiveness" was a sensitivity to political pressures.

"She is very reactive. The issue of the moment becomes everybody's top priority," a former assistant told *Legal Times*. "When everybody was getting upset over smash-and-grab robberies, she formed a smash-and-grab task force . . . Then that just faded away. I think the chances are she's honestly concerned, but sometimes it looks a little like politics."

Certainly Reno's law-enforcement record—at least judging by the numbers—wasn't the key to her success. An analysis by *Legal Times* shows her office lagging behind the rest of the state, and behind neighboring Broward County, in prosecuting criminals.

In 1991 her office brought 2 per cent of all felony defendants to trial. In the rest of the state, 3.6 per cent faced trial, and in Broward about 5 per cent did. This might suggest that Miss

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Reno's office secured more guilty pleas. Not so: in Broward 88 per cent of those charged with felonies pleaded guilty; in Florida, 82 per cent; in Dade, 73 per cent. Perhaps, because it tried fewer cases, Miss Reno's office was more successful in the cases it did try? No, again: in the rest of Florida about 62 per cent of trials ended in guilty pleas or convictions; in Dade, about 60 per cent.

Miss Reno did excel in social work. She had grand juries investigate homelessness, public housing, and minority set-asides. The list goes on. According to *Legal Times*, a nine-month grand-jury investigation into Dade's high-school dropout rate resulted in a four-year effort by one of Miss Reno's prosecutors to organize Little League and pre-school programs in Miami's toughest neighborhoods. Meanwhile, during her tenure Dade's crime rate jumped by about 50 per cent, roughly twice the rate of increase state-wide.

No Friend of Bill

WHATEVER her background, Miss Reno came to Justice at a disadvantage: she lacks the White House connections of her subordinate Webster Hubbell. A friend and golfing partner of the President's, Hubbell worked with the First Lady at the powerhouse Rose law firm in Little Rock. If he were a woman (and weren't obviously a Clinton henchman) he would be Attorney General.

Instead, he uses his clout behind the scenes. While Clinton flipped through Zoë Baird and Kimba Wood, Hubbell grabbed an office on the exclusive fifth floor of the Justice Department, where the attorney general's office is located and where no associate attorney general had roosted before. Many observers say he maintains close, perhaps daily, contact with the White House. Indeed, the day of Waco, Webster Hubbell, not Janet Reno, reported to the President. And he does what Friends of Bill do best: politics.

In February, thanks to a change of venue, a predominantly white jury was set to hear the second corruption trial of Representative Harold Ford (D., Tenn.). But the Congressional Black Caucus objected to the jury, and Hubbell brokered a meeting between the Caucus and Acting Attorney General Stuart Gerson (a Bush holdover).

A day later, in a stunning reversal, the department said it would join a motion by Ford's attorneys to dismiss the jury and return the venue to his district, sure to produce a jury unwilling to convict (as it had in his first, which ended in a hung jury). A federal judge denied Justice's motion, but Ford won acquittal anyway. For former Memphis U.S. Attorney Edward Bryant, who resigned to protest Justice's reversal, "The Justice Department gave in to the political pressure and violated a very basic principle of justice: . . . that justice is blind."

So far, Miss Reno has fit right in with this politicization. After endorsing the independent-counsel law, she has developed an allergy to special prosecutors. She won't name one to investigate Travelgate (during which the White House by-passed her and took its orders straight to the FBI), the Ron Brown bribery allegations, or the charges of tampering in Republican personnel files at the State Department. Miss Reno says she can't name an independent counsel because the statute has lapsed. But she still has the power to appoint a prosecutor to investigate a case independently; Bush Attorney General William Barr did so without the law three times.

Similarly, only politics can explain Miss Reno's waffling on whether to launch a federal probe into the anti-Semitic riot and murder of Yankel Rosenbaum in Crown Heights two years ago. On September 8 word leaked that she would announce the next day her decision not to investigate, sparing both New York Mayor David Dinkins (in the midst of a re-election fight) and former New York Police Chief Lee Brown (now Clinton's drug czar) potential embarrassment. But when New York pols raised a stink, Miss Reno backed off, saying she needed more time for reflection. In both moves—deciding against an investigation, then postponing a decision—she swayed with the prevailing political winds.

In taking another easy political out, Miss Reno undermined the institutional integrity of her own department. Since the spring of 1992 House Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman John Dingell had been pushing to interview career Justice attorneys about why certain EPA-recommended environmental prosecutions were dropped.

The Bush Justice Department refused. If attorneys knew that dropping a case would get them dragged before a congressman, it reasoned, they would feel pressure to prosecute in every case, whatever the legal merits. Never mind: this Spring, when a besieged Clinton Administration could least afford to offend a House baron, Janet Reno granted Dingell's request.

Even a Carter Administration attorney general, Benjamin Civiletti, has knocked the decision. "The Attorney General cannot effectively and fairly enforce the laws when career prosecutors are receiving pressure from Congress," Civiletti said in prepared remarks at the Heritage Foundation.

Reinventing Waco

BUT SURRENDERING to congressional bullies like Dingell hasn't tarnished Miss Reno's reputation—after Waco, it seems nothing can. Miss Reno turned law enforcement's biggest disaster in recent memory into a public-relations coup, notwithstanding the Justice Department's report about the siege, which portrays her as indecisive in the run-up to the April 19 tear-gas assault and misleading in its aftermath.

On April 16, Webster Hubbell, who supported the tear-gas plan, told FBI officials Miss Reno had rejected it. When FBI Director William Sessions asked to speak with her, Hubbell left, and returned with her ten minutes later. Unaccountably, she then "made no reference to her disapproval of the plan," according to the report. She did request a written justification of the FBI proposal, which the FBI gave her the next day. "The Attorney General did not read the prepared statement carefully," the report continues, "nor did she read the supporting documentation . . . She read only a chronology, [and] gave the rest of the materials a cursory review. . . " She approved the plan for April 19.

When that day ended with some 85 cult members dead, Miss Reno said child abuse within the compound prompted her decision. But the FBI had no evidence of on-going abuse. Miss Reno also contended that the FBI had unanimously rejected the possibility of mass suicide, when a March 8 memo from FBI behavorial experts warned about exactly that and advised that FBI tactical pressure "should be the absolute last option."

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The positive press after Waco has provided excellent cover for this attorney general's weakness.

Traditionally, the Justice Department has a crucial role in selecting Supreme Court nominees. But in picking Ruth Bader Ginsburg the White House set up its own vetting operation, dispensing entirely with Miss Reno. Many of her top lieutenants were picked for her by the White House, making it impossible for her to assemble her own team. And she had nothing to do with the formulation of the two Democratic crime bills now on Capitol Hill—bills too hard-nosed for Miss Reno.

What policy initiatives has Miss Reno launched? An interviewer on Court TV's *Washington Watch* recently asked: "How is the Justice Department a different place, how are its policies different with you as attorney general as opposed to Mr. Barr?"

"We're in the process of reviewing a number of areas," Miss Reno replied.

"But something specific today, right now. It is now October, the President has been in office for ten months, what's different?"

"One of the things that I had determined to do was to not look back. I've not compared myself to Mr. Barr. I've taken each instance, each area that I've had to look at. One of the first things that we've obviously been involved in is staffing the department. . . ."

Miss Reno's crime-fighting activities, so far, have been mostly limited to her frequent speeches, in which she outlines the woolliest views on crime this side of Ramsey Clark. She always says society must lock up violent offenders, then traces the root causes of crime back to the womb. In Dade "we started focusing on dropout-prevention programs," she told Bill Moyers,

> since we saw a correlation between those that dropped out of school and those that became delinquent. But drop-out programs at 11, 12 and 13 are too late. By that time, the kid has lost his self-esteem, he has fallen two grades behind, people call him dumb and he starts acting out in other ways, to attract attention to himself. So we started focusing on 4- and 5-year olds. That's too late. Because at that point the crack epidemic hit Miami . . .

For Janet Reno crime prevention begins with prenatal care; it helps bring healthy babies into the world, who will then be passed down a pipeline of government programs from Head Start to conflict-resolution classes at school.

She is right in saying that childhood is crucial and children are better off with intact, non-abusive families. The mistake is in thinking government can mend families or raise their children. What government can do—but isn't doing—is take the recidivists who account for two-thirds of violent crime off the streets.

"And you, sir—did you vote for change?"

Less than half of convicted felons are sentenced to prison. Those that go to prison receive a median sentence of about four years, but serve just 13 months on average. The median time served for violent crime is just 25 months, and for murder five and a half years. Lack of prison space and lax sentencing are the reasons why.

Miss Reno's Justice Department isn't offering relief. As proposed, its fiscal-1994 budget would *cut* funding for new prison construction by 20 per cent. The theory is that the prison-space squeeze can be alleviated by abandoning the minimum mandatory sentences that have allegedly clogged prisons with low-level drug offenders.

But, whatever their merits, jettisoning the minimums will not solve overcrowding. About 60 per cent of federal prisoners are in on drug charges, but the vast majority of these are for trafficking, not possession of the odd bag of marijuana. And no one at the federal level is getting paroled; the revolving door is at the state level, where most prisoners are housed.

At that level, according to a Department of Justice study, just 8 per cent of inmates are in on drug-possession charges; in contrast, about half are jailed for violent offenses. States could release everyone charged with possession tomorrow, and it would hardly make a dent in the prison population. In fact, states do let just about *everyone* out tomorrow, thanks to lax parole laws; in Texas, inmates serve an average of 62 days for each year of their sentence.

Janet Reno's get-soft-on-crime exhortations have irritated the White House; it prefers not to give the impression that it plans to take back the streets with Head Start. In a recent radio address on crime, Mr. Clinton omitted any reference to pre-natal care; instead, he talked of ensuring that "those who are convicted are punished, sometimes by imposition of the death penalty" (which Miss Reno opposes). By one theory, the President will look for an early opportunity to ease out his attorney general, whose rhetoric is out of step and whose popularity eclipses his own.

Even the Attorney General's popularity could be evanescent. Take the last act of law enforcement's chief drama in the last three years: the verdict that gives a slap on the wrist to the two men who gave Reginald Denny a brick to the head. For Angelenos the verdict has prompted outrage, an anger whose root causes obviously escape Miss Reno.

Her Justice Department is appealing the thirty-month prison sentences in the Rodney King case for the police officers who, as Judge John G. Davies put it, went five or seven blows too far. But in the Denny case—with Damian Williams (the brick-thrower) likely to serve time comparable to the officers and Henry Watson (who held Denny down with a foot to the neck) likely to walk—federal charges are nowhere in sight. The implication is clear: The light sentences for Messrs. Williams and Watson are OK.

They, after all, aren't cops. □

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Political Justice II

GUILTY OF BEING RICH

Someone was guilty of something in the Helmsley case. But was it Mrs. Helmsley?

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

ON Tuesday October 26, 1993, Leona M. Helmsley was set free from federal prison. Her long ordeal began on April 14, 1988, when U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani, with an eye toward the next day's headlines, announced her indictment for tax fraud. The injustices Leona Helmsley suffered are a product of prosecutorial abuses that no civil society should permit.

The government had picked its annual April 15 tax-fraud case with care. Here was a defendant everyone would recognize. For years, glossy magazines had carried Helmsley Hotel ads featuring a smiling Leona checking pillows and towels. *Newsweek* zeroed in on Leona and pictured her on its cover under the infamous headline, "Rhymes with Rich."

According to media reports, the charge against Leona Helmsley was that she treated personal expenses as Helmsley business expenses in order to reduce income-tax liability. The charge against her was actually more nuanced. The government's case was that she intentionally deceived the outside accounting firm that prepared both corporate and personal tax returns for the Helmsleys in order to claim personal expenses as business deductions (specifically, expenses connected with the $3-million renovation of a 28-acre estate named Dunnellen Hall, in Greenwich, Connecticut, which the Helmsleys purchased for $11 million in 1983).

The government did everything it could during Mrs. Helmsley's ten-week trial to portray her in the worst possible light. Most of the 44 people who testified against her were disgruntled employees. One of them, former Dunnellen Hall maid Elizabeth Baum, made headlines with her testimony that she had once overheard Mrs. Helmsley say, "We don't pay taxes; the little people pay taxes."

Judge John Walker, a George Bush relative who had served in the Reagan Treasury Department, joined in the denunciations. Shattering any semblance of judicial impartiality, Walker told Mrs. Helmsley from his elevated bench: "Unlike many defendants who come before the court, you were not driven to this crime by financial need; rather, your conduct was the product of naked greed."

The government used these personal attacks to paint the picture of guilt, but they were irrelevant as a matter of law. The crux of the government's legal case hinged upon the testimony of accountants from the Helmsleys' outside accounting firm, Eisner & Lubin. The accountant most familiar with the Helmsley account testified that the firm was totally unaware that personal expenses had been disguised as business expenses. Without this testimonial evidence, the government would have failed to satisfy the elements of a prima-facie case, and Mrs. Helmsley would have been entitled to a directed verdict in her favor.

After Mrs. Helmsley was convicted, her attorneys discovered compelling evidence that the government had known the accountants were lying. In order to protect the credibility of its key witness, Gerald Marsden, prosecutors painted him as an honest accountant, duped by Mrs. Helmsley. Yet for several years he had been the subject of a criminal investigation for signing fraudulent "comfort" letters exaggerating the financial strength of a client, Robert Landau Associates, resulting in the Miller Brewing Company's being defrauded of $2 million. After Marsden testified against Mrs. Helmsley in the grand-jury hearing, and shortly before he testified at her trial, the charges against him were dropped.

To hobble Mrs. Helmsley's attorneys in challenging Marsden's credibility, the government thwarted access to people who could testify against him. For example, Charles Lockwood, vice president of Robert Landau Associates, pleaded guilty in the Miller Brewing fraud in June 1986 and agreed to be a government witness against Marsden in that case. The government delayed sentencing him by an unprecedented three years until the eve of Marsden's testimony against Mrs. Helmsley. This tactic served to keep Marsden in line and also to make it clear to Lockwood that cooperation with Mrs. Helmsley's attorneys could affect his sentence.

Dershowitz & Bork

THE EVIDENCE that Mrs. Helmsley had been framed was so overwhelming that two prominent attorneys known for their divergent legal philosophies took up her case: first Harvard Law professor and criminal defense attorney Alan Dershowitz, and then former appellate judge and conservative constitutional scholar Robert Bork.

No one disputes that the Helmsleys purchased many items for the renovation of their estate through their business. This practice, engaged in by millions of family-owned businesses, is perfectly legal so long as personal expenses are distinguished from business expenses when tax returns are filed. Like many others, Mrs. Helmsley relied on her accountants to sort out these expenses. The government claimed she submitted false invoices to make personal expenses appear to her accountants as business expenses.

The problem with this charge is that the accountants treated the same expenses differently on different sets of books. Both Dershowitz and Bork concluded that if there was tax fraud going on, the accountants had to have been in on it, and the government's case that Mrs. Helmsley deceived her accountants had no basis.

Dershowitz and Bork offered proof,

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moreover, that the government knew this. For example, the handwritten notes and workpapers of Eisner & Lubin accountant Arthur Nowak, who calculated the ground rent for the Helmsley-owned Graybar Building in Manhattan, made repeated reference to the Dunnellen Hall invoices.

When James DeVita, the assistant U.S. attorney working on the case, discovered this near the end of his pre-indictment investigation, he and four government tax experts interviewed Nowak, who obliged them by denying that he had seen the invoices. In his motion for a re-trial, Dershowitz noted that the government had to have known that this denial was a lie, but had gone ahead with the case.

Federal prosecutors replied that the motion for a new trial was based on the "fatally flawed . . . assumption that Nowak denied seeing the phony invoices." The government claimed that Nowak never denied seeing the invoices because the denial would be "obviously" and "plainly" untrue. Dershowitz then produced handwritten notes by Nowak's attorney, Edward Daus, taken during Nowak's meeting with prosecutors indicating that Nowak repeatedly denied seeing the false invoices.

The prosecutors vehemently and categorically denied that Nowak had denied seeing the invoices, but refused to produce their set of interview notes. They were trapped. If Nowak knew about the invoices, then the government had suborned perjury by presenting evidence that the accounting firm was unaware of the tax fraud. The government was equally guilty of misconduct if prosecutors had accepted his "plainly" untrue denial that he had seen the invoices.

In the face of indictable offenses committed by prosecutors, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals apparently decided to sacrifice Mrs. Helmsley in order to protect the Office of the U.S. Attorney. The Appeals Court claimed that Mrs. Helmsley's original trial attorneys had had every opportunity to present these facts at the trial.

The government has to prove the case that it brings. If the government had charged Mrs. Helmsley and the outside accountants with conspiracy to commit tax fraud, the government would have been deprived of the accountants' testimony against her. It was far easier to frame her with perjury and bought testimony. When District Judge Thomas Griesa denied the motion for a new trial, he clutched at the false invoices in order to ignore the government's misconduct.

However, the false invoices actually suggest Mrs. Helmsley's innocence. Not a single one bears her signature. Some of the invoices have her Xeroxed initials, photocopied from the original personal-expense records she had given the accountants. Another set of false invoices lacks initials altogether.

An Odd Sort of Greed

THE PROSECUTORS alleged the motive for tax evasion was the Helmsleys' greed. This claim is absurd. As every homeowner knows, mortgage-interest deductions are important tax shields. Commercial real estate provides bountiful interest and depreciation deductions. Yet, the Helmsley empire is essentially paid in full. It is impossible to believe that "greedy" real-estate magnates would resort to petty tax fraud before taking elementary and *legal* steps to shield taxable income by refinancing to gain interest deductions and buying and selling properties to maintain a depreciable base.

In the years of the alleged tax fraud totaling $1.7 million, the Helmsleys paid $53.7 million in federal taxes on adjusted gross income of $103.6 million. As the childless Mrs. Helmsley told Barbara Walters, "All our money goes to charity. What would my motive be to take a million dollars and add it to charity?"

Prosecutors have a dual role in the criminal-justice system. Besides presenting evidence against the accused, they have a duty to defend and respect the rights of the accused—a role that the U.S. attorney's office unambiguously failed to observe in the Helmsley case. In a society in which the first line of law is "We the People," the government destroys the basis of law when it tramples citizens as it did Leona Helmsley. If a billionaire cannot withstand these depredations, ordinary mortals have no chance at all.

This June, after a bout with his conscience, Judge Griesa reduced the "unduly harsh" sentence. As a result, Leona Helmsley, an American political prisoner guilty of being rich, is free.

Conservatives tend to view prosecutors as allies in the fight for law and order. So many criminals get away without punishment that tough prosecutors willing to employ all the power they can marshal might seem to be an appropriate response. However, justice suffers when winning at all costs becomes the prosecutorial ethic. If the rising tide of prosecutorial abuse does not abate, we will cease to be the civil society that the founding fathers constructed. □

The New Electronic Populism

WINDS OF CHANGE

While we talk about democracy in Russia and South Africa, maybe we're due for some at home.

JEFFREY BELL

NONE OF the world's politics today is business as usual. Soviet-style Communism is dead. Political leaders who enjoyed great success in the 1980s or even later are being summarily thrown out of office (George Bush, Margaret Thatcher) or declining markedly in popularity (Francois Mitterrand, Helmut Kohl). Socialist parties are losing elections and becoming irrelevant, except in countries like Germany and Spain where they openly embrace capitalism. But unabashedly capitalist parties are hardly thriving, as witness the defeat of George Bush and the low

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poll ratings of Prime Minister John Major.

Perhaps most startling of all are recent developments in Italy and Japan, where postwar capitalist prosperity has been identified with single-party rule. Japan's Liberal–Democrats are out of office, falling from power in a manner that more closely resembles a form of suicide than displacement by some other party or ideology. And the Italian Christian Democrats are similarly in disarray. Indeed, the entire Italian political establishment has been overturned by a judicial investigation that increasingly resembles a revolutionary tribunal.

The decline in standing of incumbent political elites, including seemingly successful ones, has been remarkable and universal. It greatly resembles the period 1945–46, when Winston Churchill and Charles de Gaulle were unceremoniously dumped from domestic power following their majestic wartime triumphs. Certainly the swift decline and fall of George Bush in 1991–92 suggests such a dynamic.

A lazy rendering of Bush's defeat says he lost because of the recession. But when the recession *ended* (in March 1991) his performance rating was in the 80th percentile. In August, after the halo of the Persian Gulf War had faded, Bush was still around 70 per cent.

But it was that same August that the Cold War was won irrevocably. Soviet Communism was dead, and nuclear weapons (however worrisome) seemed much less of a threat. George Bush, regarded by the American people as superbly qualified to guide the country through the endgame of the Cold War, had become irrelevant unless he could successfully adapt to the suddenly redirected interests of the electorate.

He could not, and soon a wild and woolly three-way race was on that left the hapless incumbent with 37.4 per cent of the vote on November 3. Bush's foreign-policy ratings consistently outstripped those of Bill Clinton and Ross Perot. It is simply that, after August 1991, foreign-policy management shrank massively as a share of the electorate's concern.

What was true in the United States is proving true virtually everywhere. The constant is the electorate's transformed concern. The variable is the response of political elites to that concern.

Popular Victories, Elite Rule

IN MY BOOK *Populism and Elitism: Politics in the Age of Equality*, I argued that the most striking fact of recent global politics is the gulf between popular and elite opinion that opened up in the 1960s. This gulf exists all over the world, but while the Cold War dragged on and the threat of nuclear war, Soviet expansion, and/or leftist gains was taken seriously in most countries, electorates had patience with political elites (such as the Christian Democrats in Italy) that were manifestly ineffectual and remote from popular sentiment in every other way. The sudden end of the socialist idea in the world fully unmasked not only the people's desire for change, but the difficulty political elites of the Right, Left, and Center have in identifying with their electorates at all. The end of socialism is by no means the end of elitism.

What is elitism today? It is much more than a badge of status. Above all, it involves optimism about the ability of elites to solve the problems of ordinary people, relative to the ability of people to solve their problems for themselves. Elitism is not necessarily anti-democratic—to the contrary, elitists tend to accept the *right* of the people to participate in political decision-making—but elitists are pessimistic about the competence of most people in political, economic, and other realms. On the upcoming debate on health-care reform, for example, it is predictable that elite opinion will push in the direction of a standardized health-care "package" that will leave consumers minimal discretion on the kind of coverage they want, rather than toward reforms that place resources and decision-making ability directly in the hands of consumers.

These tendencies in elitist thought are more or less constants. But some other features of today's elitism are characteristic of, perhaps unique to, our own stage of history.

I believe that much, if not most, of twentieth-century politics can be understood as a struggle over the meaning of equality. This debate of course began much earlier, but it attained central importance in the years 1911–22, during which the great ruling monarchies of China, Russia, Germany, Austria–Hungary, and the Ottomans all came crashing to the ground. This ended the five-thousand-year reign of monarchy as humanity's dominant political system and triggered a struggle over what was to come next.

One way of understanding this debate is to contrast the Western concept of *innate* equality as expressed (for example) in the Declaration of Independence—all men are *created* equal—with

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the elitist vision of equality, which is that equality does not meaningfully exist today and is a future ideal to be *managed toward*. In this view, equality is a matter of condition, and one or more elites are needed to achieve it for the people over time. In the economic arena, complete fulfillment of elitist equality implies equal economic outcomes: socialism.

At first glance, it might seem that with the worldwide discrediting of socialism we have just lived through, the idea of equality of economic results is now finished. Yet the current economic-policy debate in the United States suggests that the idea of equality of result is far from dead, particularly in elite opinion. President Clinton's tax program has an openly redistributionist rationale. The failure of Republican leaders to directly challenge his upper-income tax-rate increases, in my view, has a great deal

Populism + Telecommunications = Global Democracy

AFTER YEARS of hype and hope, the old communications barriers of time and distance are beginning to crumble as dramatically as the Berlin Wall. The digital era of communications is here, and its essence is this: vastly more people will have vastly improved access to vastly more information.

The presumptive consumer benefits of this shift from analog to digital have been widely advertised: video phone calls, movies on demand, the Library of Congress accessible by home computer, bill-paying and plane-booking, and so on. No doubt the market will surprise us all as it sorts out the real values from the entrepreneurial passions. But the hard news is that the data superhighway is being built and it should be open for business before Messrs. Clinton and Gore have time to fund it or the opportunity to manage it.

Just who will come after they build it is less clear. Consider the mega-deals of the last few months.

Southwestern Bell buys Hauser Communications for $650 million. Here we have a Regional Bell Operating Company (RBOC) buying cable systems in the territory of a sibling Baby Bell. What does it get for its full-price buck? Among other things, it gets the chance to offer telephone service by cable, giving rise to the speculation that even the RBOCs have conceded that cable is the superior platform for information services. Not an easy concession to make after you have already sunk billions in installed telephone plant.

U.S. West invests $2.5 billion in Time-Warner. Another RBOC opens the register and hands over the cash to its putative archrival, the nation's second largest cable operator. What does it get in return? A minority interest without management control. If you were looking for a shootout at the O.K. Corral between telcos and cable, this deal suggests you may be disappointed. Telephone managers have been raised, after all, to believe that competition is unpleasant and avoidable.

The New York Times *buys the* Boston Globe *for $1.1 billion.* As the deadline for placing bets arrives, the *Times* draws on its deep experience in information collection, retrieval, and distribution—and bets on a tired regional newspaper.

MCI sells a 20 per cent interest to British Telecom for $4.3 billion. In what MCI's CEO modestly labels the "deal of the century," the nation's second largest long-distance carrier—that is to say, one of the companies that, along with AT&T and Sprint, have *already* built the data highway—puts billions in its war chest, aligns itself with one of the giant international players, and retains control of its own destiny.

Where, then, lies the value? Some see value in the "switch," which permits the telephone companies simultaneously to arrange millions of one-to-one connections. Others see value in the "broadband" capability of cable to move large digital payloads down coaxial pipelines. Others place a premium on the software and listen expectantly for the big feet of Microsoft. Or is it chips that will add the value (Intel) or consumer-friendly gizmos (Apple) or plain old intellectual property (Disney)? Why, in a moment of such confusion, would risk-averse corporate managers be placing such heavy bets? Because it is one of those rare moments in techno-economic history when it becomes clear that some players will win big and many other players will win at least a little. The zero-sum, scarce-spectrum game is over, and real growth is at hand. Here's what the digital era may portend for the political economy.

1. *The increased power of special interests.* Dozens of groups, gangs, flocks, tribes, and posses have already formed their own networks, bringing punch and contemporaneity to their political operations. Consider the following networks launched this past June at the National Cable Television Association convention in San Francisco: The Caribbean Satellite Network; The Crime Channel; The Gaming Network (for parimutuel betting on dogs and horses); The Golf Channel; and The World African Network. And that's just a sample.

2. *The retreat of telecommunications regulation.* Current regulation is based, politically and economically, on the scarcity of the electromagnetic spectrum. Until recently, if A the broadcaster or B the cop or C the cellular phone operator was using part of the spectrum, other users were crowded out. The government thus got into the allocation business, assigning pieces of the spectrum to various user groups. In the digital era, when you can fire the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* down a continental pipe faster than you can carry Volume I across your living room, there is less allocation business to do. Alas, a Clinton–Gore FCC seems less likely to put itself out of this business than the Reagan–Bush commissions.

3. *The loss of America's cultural hegemony.* If you consider the global market to be the sum of cultural products consumed outside the producer's home market, U.S. dominance is astonishing. In music, films, and television, the rest of the world *combined* cannot challenge us. Through the Eighties, we have en-

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to do with the sacrosanct status of the ideal of equality of result in elite opinion. The alternative explanation, that it represents a fear of popular revulsion against low tax rates for the rich, is called into question by President Reagan's ability to cut the top bracket from 70 to 28 per cent and still leave office with the highest performance rating of any departing President in the history of polling.

The elitist obsession with equality of result is evident in many other areas of policy. Affirmative-action quotas continue to be an elitist goal not just in this country but in democracies as far away as India. Weirdly shaped districts continue to be drawn to ensure equality of representation according to race. Among educational elites, there is constant pressure to de-emphasize teaching the gifted and to roll back achievement testing as a criterion of educational success. Federal and state

joyed what looks very much like a monopoly (and to Third World governments exactly like imperialism). In a digital era others will get into the game more easily. While the U.S. will enjoy a strong and possibly pre-eminent position in the popular culture, our relative strength will erode.

4. *The rise of the multinational organization.* If the flow of people, ideas, and money is no longer inhibited by the passage of time or the expanse of distance or the narrowmindedness of nationalism, current national and religious identities cannot help being affected. Is it fanciful to foresee a day when young people around the world come to think of themselves as hailing from MTV rather than from the U.S.A. or the CIS or the EC? Perhaps—but one already sees business people untethering themselves from national moorings and slipping easily around the world with the economic tides. Where "supranationals" like Rupert Murdoch and James Goldsmith used to be exotic creatures, it is now the exceptional company that does not move its promising young executives systematically around the international markets.

5. *The emergence of the digital press lord.* During the period that began with broadcast television, now drawing to a close, there were no commanding, idea-driven personalities. William Paley, the principal figure in network television, concentrated his considerable energies on stacking CBS sitcoms across weekday evenings. Allen Neuharth, the most conspicuous newspaper baron of the period, managed to pass whole years without breaking stories that rippled beyond his Gannett markets. But that's not the way things were in the previous era, the print era, when the Pulitzers and Hearsts and Loebs used their media outlets to project idiosyncratic worldviews. It seems possible that we will soon see their like again, as digital press lords look to the horizon for expansion.

In Europe, Germany's Bertelsmann empire and Silvio Berlusconi of Italy are racing to the future, positioning themselves to compete for international franchises of several kinds. Sony, which combines consumer electronics with a growing entertainment software base, will probably be a player and would surely be so if founder Akio Morita were twenty years younger. The same can be said for Time-Warner, which has struck a less imperial posture since Warner's Steve Ross was replaced by Time Inc. alumnus Gerald Levin. (Entrepreneurial bursts seem to depend more on single-minded individuals than organizational strength.)

There are others testing the waters, including Brazil's Globo (though the Portuguese language barrier is formidable) and Mexico's Televisa. Ted Turner might get a second wind—and a permission slip from his board. As a dark horse, add Wayne Huizenga of Blockbuster Entertainment. And then there are three corporate Americans who must deal with each other before they can hope to win the world. Robert Allen of AT&T, Bert Roberts of MCI (uniquely, he is a second-generation contender, following in the large footsteps of founder William McGowan), and John Malone of TCI, who sits in the enviable position of controlling the largest cable system operator in the world's largest cable market. And of course there may be a guy out there whom nobody has heard of, a Bill Gates–like nerd, who is about to marry the switch with the broadband and make the whole package as consumer-comfy as a microwave oven.

But the odds-on favorite to be the first digital press lord is Rupert Murdoch. With his acquisition of Hong Kong–based Star TV, he can now do what press lords have been able to do only in their daydreams—he can put his video message directly into your home or office wherever you are, from Los Angeles to New York, from London to Vienna, from New Delhi to Tokyo. On Rupert Murdoch's digital empire, the sun never sets.

What will these press lords mean for the rest of us? In my view, a billion Chinese can't be wrong. They expect Murdoch to deliver timely, more-or-less accurate news and lots of attractively packaged entertainment. That prospect excites the information-starved Chinese masses while simultaneously chilling their political masters in Peking. On all sides there is agreement that information is power and that information widely distributed is power dispersed and restrained. The rise of the press lords paradoxically signals the revitalization of democratic movements.

Indeed, the collapse of Communism was significantly assisted by two aspects of the telecommunications revolution. The dissidents employed faxes, computers, and photo-copying machines to undermine the system. And Gorbachev launched the *perestroika* that eventually destroyed his regime precisely because a closed society was bound to fall further and further behind in an information age.

The digital revolution is, in net effect, a liberation movement. It's democratic capitalism with a Schumpeterian vengeance, a meritocratic global village in which roots, precedent, and custom will count for little. Those who prosper in the information economy will be those with talent, energy, and—perhaps most of all—speed. For, while it may not always have seemed so, it's clear now that our trip through the twentieth century has been life in the slow lane.

—Neal B. Freeman

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judges have triggered a nationwide revolution in the structure of public education by mandating equalized funding among school districts in much if not most of the country.

In the area of moral values, application of equality of result demands elite imposition of relativism or "moral neutrality." In other words, no one's moral system must in the end be given preference over anyone else's. In the elitist world view, it becomes illicit for a community to set moral standards beyond the most rudimentary needed to deter violence. Hence elitist opposition to democratic standard-setting on such moral issues as abortion, homosexuality, and pornography. Hence, too, the rise to intellectual and academic dominance of such explicitly relativist systems as multiculturalism, deconstruction, and critical legal studies.

It is certainly possible for popular opinion in a capitalist democracy to adopt the elitist agenda of equality of result and institutionalized moral relativism. The world of the twenty-first century could wind up looking not very different from the way Sweden and the Netherlands look today.

But the transnational political unrest accompanying the arrival of the post–Cold War era gives some grounds for believing that popular opinion will not docilely accept the agenda of today's elites. The fact that popular dissatisfaction so far seems indiscriminately directed at all elites could, of course, turn out to mean that it is an outburst of temporary anger, with little or no content. But it could also reflect the fact that elites in modern society, whether of the Left, Right, or Center, are unusually wedded to the elitist world view—and thus incapable of understanding the nature of popular unrest, much less of satisfying it.

In past periods when elite opinion became persistently estranged from popular opinion, the gulf was bridged by the emergence of elite populists—leaders from an elite background or who had attained elite status, but who harbored populist views, which I would define as optimism about people's competence to make political, economic, and other decisions, relative to the ability of various elites to make those decisions for them. In the English-speaking democracies of the nineteenth century, such figures as Andrew Jackson in the United States, William Gladstone in Britain, and George Brown in Canada had populist views on politics and economics.

In our own time, Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher had many of the characteristics of elite populism, and for a time looked as if they might succeed in resolving the Sixties-generated split in public opinion in the direction of popular values. But Thatcher was ousted and Reagan succeeded by men who did not share their stubborn vision, and for all their policy successes in winning the Cold War and revitalizing capitalism, neither Reagan nor Thatcher succeeded in transforming politics at home by resolving the values gap. The clearest evidence of this is the remarkable success of American elites—and not just Democratic ones—in deconstructing Reagan's record and diminishing his popular standing once he was no longer in office to defend himself.

Indeed, there was a brief time, first in the United States and then in Britain, when a return to pre-Reagan and pre-Thatcher politics as usual seemed likely. George Bush and John Major enjoyed early political successes and surges in popularity. Bush effectively dismantled Reaganomics without suffering immediate consequences, then surged to record levels of popularity in the wake of the Gulf War. Major cut back Mrs. Thatcher's tax reforms and removed the remaining barriers to full integration with Europe under the Maastricht treaty. His upset victory in the national election of April 1992 seemed to confirm that the Thatcher era would be succeeded by a careful, mildly elitist regime. Given the uniqueness of Reagan and Thatcher as populist leaders, their eclipse raised the possibility that elitism would have few challengers. The shape of future policy would be orchestrated by unelected elitist figures like Jacques Delors of the European Community and Richard Darman in the United States.

Toward an Elite Populism

THEN came the end of the Cold War and the worldwide collapse in popularity of political elites, as well as such arguably related events as the popular revolt against the elitist Maastricht model of European integration. It now would seem that the emergence of post–Cold War elite populist leaders is the likeliest resolution of today's turbulent politics.

The leading model for an elite populist on today's political scene is Ross Perot. The trouble is, Perot in his own beliefs is not particularly populist. No one who talks as if the answer to the nation's problems is letting him get under the hood to fix things can be said to be very optimistic about people's competence. If what the electorate is looking for is a change of style, the election of Perot as President in 1996 would cure today's political alienation. But if, as I believe, the post–Cold War popular revolt is simply the latest manifestation of a gulf in values between elite and popular opinion that first erupted in the 1960s, Perot's election would lead to bitter disappointment and would do little or nothing to foreshadow a successful politics of the future.

If not Perot, then who? What kind of leaders, what kind of platforms will come forward to heal the breach in today's politics?

Given the lack of imagination of most political leaders today, it is tempting to speculate that elite populists will come from outside current political circles. It could happen this way—but not necessarily. In the past, elite populists have often benefited from knowledge and contacts acquired within the system that they are attempting to reform or displace. An important current example is Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who spent a lifetime as a Communist *apparatchik* before becoming the central agent in the destruction of the Communist system.

Nor is it by any means certain that elite populists will emerge from the Right rather than the Left. The attempted populist realignments led by Reagan and Thatcher did come from the Right, but their brand of reformism has virtually disappeared from the Republican and Conservative Parties since their departures from office. In the United States there has been no impressive Left populist since the death of Robert Kennedy but that does not mean one will not emerge in the 1990s.

These uncertainties make it difficult to write a platform for future populist politics. It should therefore be kept in mind that my own picture of a successful populist platform is shaped by my

(Continues on page 64)

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THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1993

Dear Rusty,

I'm taking a big chance here, but I really need your advice. I'm sending along a transcript of a recent foreign-policy-study-group meeting, and in doing so I'm pretty much violating security standards, but what the heck, I need your input. Read through the transcript, and when you get to the end of it I have a question I want to ask you. Okay. Here goes.

[Oval Office. 20 October. Present: POTUS, VPOTUS, SEC. STATE CHRISTOPHER, SEC. DEF. ASPIN, NSA LAKE, CIA DIR. WOOLSEY, COUNS. TO THE POTUS GERGEN, COM. SEC. BROWN (late arrival).]

POTUS: Well, now that we're all here we can come to order. I've got to get honest with you all. I'm madder than a water mouse in a coffee can. Somalia blowing up. Haiti gettin' all tangled. If you guys can't get . . . [inaudible] it's gonna get rougher here than a . . . [inaudible]. So let's see if we can't take a few minutes to get a policy. First, Somalia . . . wait a sec. Wait just a damn second here. Where's Christopher? Where the hell is my secretary of state?

SEC. STATE: Right here, Mr. President. On the couch.

POTUS: Oh, right. I guess I just missed you. Anyway, let's continue. As regards Somalia, is our policy one of nation-building? Or is it—

VPOTUS: Actually, Chris, could you just scooch over a bit? Les's face kind of blocks my vision.

POTUS: Al, do you mind?

VPOTUS: I'm sorry. Was that rude? Les, I didn't mean to imply that your face is big.

SEC. DEF.: Don't worry about it, Al.

CIA DIR.: If I could, sir. In summary, it seems that when we were following a simple course of action—feeding the hungry, say—we were on course with the original Bush plan.

POTUS: You think Bush wouldn't have gone after Aidid?

CIA DIR.: Hard to say, sir. I never worked for Bush. I did work for Carter though. And I can safely say that he would have gone after Aidid just like you did.

NSA: I've got to concur with the Director. I worked for Carter too.

POTUS: Terrific. Just terrific. Every one of you worked for Carter. Even . . . wait a minute. Where the hell is Christopher?

SEC. STATE: Right here, sir. Still next to Mr. Aspin.

POTUS [sharp intake of breath]: God, you scared me. Maybe we should hang a bell on you or something.

SEC. DEF.: How about if we pull out some troops, while escalating our commitment?

POTUS: Excuse me?

SEC. DEF.: Yank out a few thousand troops. Then we hit Aidid with everything we've got.

POTUS [Inaudible.]

COUNS. TO POTUS: I think what the President is trying to ask is, wouldn't that be counter-productive? If we're going to escalate our commitment to nation-building, won't we need more troops, not fewer?

SEC. DEF.: I don't follow your reasoning.

COUNS. TO POTUS: Well, I—

SEC. DEF.: It's called "Constructive Ambiguity," Dave. Look into it. I don't have time for this. I have a madman to find. [Rustling of papers.]

POTUS: Les, sit down.

SEC. DEF.: If you want to fire me, then fire me! Okay? Just fire me! But please, let's put an end to the rumors, okay? I'm tired of answering the phone at night and finding some realtor making a cold call. A little courtesy, that's all I'm asking.

POTUS: Simmer down, Les. I'm not asking for your resignation. In fact, strictly between you and me, and I wouldn't say this if Chris were in the room, but I'm thinking of replacing him.

COUNS. TO POTUS [Clears throat.]

POTUS: What? Oh, God! [Sharp intake of breath.] Chris, I'm sorry. I didn't see you there.

SEC. STATE: If I overheard my President, is he presently of the resolve to replace his Secretary of State? If so, perhaps he will allow me to conduct a discreet search for a replacement and to prudently nudge the present occupant of the office, one Mr. Warren "Chris" Christopher, to a brisk departure?

POTUS [snapping fingers]: Chris? Hello? Hello? [Oval Office door opens]

SEC. COMM.: Am I late? Sorry. Have we gotten to Haiti yet?

COUNS. TO POTUS: Not yet, Ron. Perhaps you could wait out—

SEC. COMM.: Haiti needs a leader, right? Someone we can all back. Someone not as wacky as Aristide, not as severe as the army. Someone with leadership. Someone Haitians know already. Someone like . . . Baby Doc!

[General inaudible.]

SEC. COMM.: Coincidentally, he's a former client of my law firm. I think we could get him on easy terms. What do you think?

Okay, Rusty, here's my question: don't you think I would make a great secretary of state? If Bill asks Christopher to leave, I'm thinking of throwing my hat into the ring. After all, I have the skills.

Write soon, Al

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The Other Peace Dividend

ROBERT SKIDELSKY

FOLLOWING its publication in England in February, John Charmley's biography of Winston Churchill comes to the United States on a gale of argument which is sure to continue. What he has done is to challenge two of the most sacred postwar Anglo-American myths: that the war against Hitler was justified, and that Churchill was a prescient leader in peace, and a magnificent one in war. Mr. Charmley's verdict is different: the war cost Britain its inheritance, and Churchill, while rhetorically magnificent, was as erratic in war as he had been in peace. The distinct impression is given that Churchill lost Britain the empire it was his life's ambition to preserve. Triumph and tragedy, indeed.

Before commenting, it is worth considering the standpoint from which this judgment is made. By the late 1970s, when Mr. Charmley started writing history, the myth of Britain's "finest hour" was tarnished. Britain had fallen from the heights to the near depths. The empire was gone, Britain was in hock to the IMF, trade unions seemed to run the country. By contrast, the defeated enemies, Germany and Japan were prospering mightily. No wonder the fruits of victory seemed bitter.

Churchill: The End of Glory: A Political Biography, by John Charmley (Harcourt, Brace, 752 pp., $34.95)

Mr. Charmley's book is a classic conservative lament for vanished glory. When, in such a mood, one asks how this fall from grace came to pass, taking pot-shots at the icon becomes irresistible. Churchill's leadership was inspiring, but barren. He was temperamentally unable to do what was needed to "conserve" Britain's position. An empire which needed to be managed by foxes was led to destruction by a lion, who often resembled an enraged bull. He cared nothing for Mr. Charmley's beloved Conservative Party, either, which he led to catastrophic defeat in 1945.

From the ashes of Churchill's reputation rises a new hero: Neville Chamberlain, architect of appeasement. Chamberlain realized that a major war with Germany would destroy the British empire; therefore he tried to avoid it. By contrast the magnificent rhetorician Churchill thought that Britain could still conjure up the forces that had defeated the ambitions of Philip II, Louis XIV, and Napoleon, and had won it ever expanding fame, trade, and empire. Trapped by his heroic view of the past, Churchill, unlike Chamberlain, took no account of Britain's shrunken means. Hitler wanted to go east, not west. The implication of Mr. Charmley's book is that Hitler should have been allowed to get on with it. But Churchill's presence helped make that impossible. Chamberlain was forced to declare war; Churchill, at the Admiralty, and later as prime minister, made sure that the war would be fought to the death.

Most of this is nonsense. It is not even interesting nonsense. The myth of the lost peace, the peace which might have been won, which would have been won had Churchill not been there, has been peddled by appeasers and pessimists for a long time. It takes two to parley. The impossible and ghastly nature of Hitler's ambitions, even if they fell well short of world domination, is ignored. But if we forget this particular aspect of Charmley's book, we are left with something very impressive—the most absorbing study of Churchill's character ever written, a brilliant picture of the fissures in twentieth-century British Conservatism, and an acute analysis of the dilemmas facing British foreign policy in Britain's period of decline.

It is easy to understand how, before his apotheosis in 1940, Churchill had the reputation of being a reckless, feckless, brilliant, unsound, unreliable politician. He emerges from Mr. Charmley's pages as an aristocratic adventurer, convinced that God had created him for noble deeds. The world, declared his lifelong friend and mentor Lord Birkenhead (F. E. Smith) in 1923, "continues to offer glittering prizes to those who have stout hearts and sharp swords." Mr. Charmley comments: "The impression thus created, that politics was about winning fame and glory, was a fairly exact definition of part of the credo which both Birkenhead and Churchill shared; they would both have said with Disraeli that 'we are here for fame,' and neither disdained the honorable sense of the title of 'adventurer.'" Birkenhead's views might have passed muster in 1890. They seemed completely archaic after the First World War had knocked the stuffing out of the British ruling class.

Despite his aristocratic birth, Churchill always seemed an outsider. The aristocracy held power in nineteenth-century England on condition that they looked and behaved like the middle classes. In politics they were expected to be suitably pessimistic, as indeed were Salisbury and Balfour. Churchill would have none of this. Faithful husband though he was, he never fitted into the society of "faithful husbands" which made up the new British ruling class. Lacking the discipline, or suffocation, of formal education, his mind remained as "vehement, high, and daring" as his attitude to life. Even in his youth, he was a hero out of time.

Churchill's political credo remained that of the times on which, as a young man, he had set out to make his mark. He held fast to an uplifting view of Britain's imperial mission, long after the problem had become how best to manage Britain's imperial retreat. In domestic politics, he subscribed to his father's nebulous creed of "Tory De-

Lord Skidelsky is professor of political economy at Warwick University. The second volume of his biography of John Maynard Keynes will be published by Viking in January.

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mocracy," which sought to unite the aristocracy and working class at a time when Britain was becoming steadily more bourgeois. Nor did he disdain adventures of his own on the far-flung frontiers of empire. These postings were in aid of the young Winston's tireless campaign of self-promotion. He was a child of the new political age, who understood the value of publicity, and the appeal of dramatic characters to the newly enfranchised masses. He usually managed to create the dramas his literary and political ambitions required. Fresh from his famous escape from the Boers, he entered Parliament in 1900 as a military hero. Forty years later another war brought him his apotheosis.

Churchill was never much concerned about party allegiance, but, unlike his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, he loved political office, and proved a powerful, hard-working political executive. Charmley emphasizes three weaknesses that are central to his account of Churchill's wartime leadership: he was too egotistical to notice what others were saying; he could think of only one big thing at a time; and he always "magnified the chances of gaining what he wanted and minimized the costs." In combination these failings help explain the genesis and collapse of the Dardanelles expedition in 1915, the fiasco that ended his "first political career" and from which he took ten years to recover. They also explain why his colleagues so mistrusted his judgment. He reminded Violet Bonham Carter of a chauffeur who seems perfectly sane, and then suddenly drives you over the cliff. So powerful were his obsessions, so vehement his advocacy, that colleagues and officials would allow themselves to be overborne, only to find themselves landed in messes which they then had to clear up. Not surprisingly they often wondered whether the price they had to pay for Churchill's brilliance and fertility was not too high.

As a politician Churchill was too erratic to gain a secure party following until 1940—and even then only in circumstances that made him a national, before he became a party, leader. He started as a Conservative, spent his middle years (1904–1922) as a Liberal, and ended up as leader of the Conservative Party. But it was not so much his switches of party that deprived him of a stable following, as his gyrations within the parties of his temporary choice. The Liberal credit he built up as Asquith's social-reforming president of the Board of Trade was thrown away when, as first lord of the Admiralty, he outdid the Conservatives in demands for increased naval spending. Back in the Conservative Party in the 1920s, he once more threw away the credit for soundness he had built up as chancellor of the exchequer by taking up a "diehard" position on India in the 1930s. For most of his political life, Churchill was peculiarly dependent on the favor of the prime ministers he served: Asquith, Lloyd George, and Baldwin. He was generously employed, usually got his own way, gave loyalty in return, but, till

Bonnie Gardner

1939, was always expendable. The implication of all this is that by the late 1930s Churchill needed a war if he was going to secure the greatest "glittering prize"—the prime-ministership.

The best thing in Charmley's book is the way he links up the debates over giving India self-government in the early 1930s to the question of how to deal with Hitler, and both to the "fault line" between appeasement and resistance running through the Conservative Party. The "sound," "realistic" men such as Halifax and Simon who "advocated compromise over India . . . went on to apply the same mind-set to Hitler"; those, like Churchill and Lord Lloyd, who wanted to stand up to Hitler, also cried "no surrender" in imperial affairs. Both sides wanted to preserve British power; they disagreed only about the means. The appeasers thought they could do so by making concessions on inessentials while hanging on to the levers of power; the anti-appeasers, by "stopping the rot." It was the difference between what Mr. Charmley calls "humdrum imperialism" and the "stout hearts and sharp swords" variety. Both approaches had their blindspots. Throwing sops to the Indian nationalists could no more appease them than throwing sops to Hitler could appease him. There was always an irreducible gap between what the appeasers were prepared to offer and what the objects of their appeasement wanted. On the other hand, Churchill grossly overestimated Britain's power to keep imperial repression going in Asia while confronting Hitler in Europe. Because power was limited, he came to believe that will was a substitute for power, much as, in the end, Hitler did.

Mr. Charmley offers no escape from this dilemma. But he accepts too readily one pro-appeasement argument, much invoked by Neville Chamberlain and his followers: that more rearmament could not be "afforded." This ignored the fact that the British economy, unlike the German, suffered from heavy unemployment throughout the 1930s. Full employment would have enabled Britain to produce more guns *and* more exports. This would have given British policymakers better choices in the late 1930s. With a stronger British economy, neither appeasement nor resistance would have seemed so dire. But neither Chamberlain nor Churchill had any inkling of Keynesian economics.

The biographical foundations for Mr. Charmley's indictment of Churchill's wartime leadership are well laid; yet in the end it is all foreplay for a climax that never comes. His argument seems to be that had Britain played its cards differently between, say, 1938 and 1945, it would in some sense have been better off. But this is a *suggestio falsi*. Between the Munich settlement of 1938 and 1941, the question of how Britain might react hardly entered into Hitler's calculations. He thought Britain could be discounted. Whether Britain appeased him or resisted him was a matter of indifference.

Therefore, no "peace" Britain could offer him, short of conceding everything he wanted, was of any interest. Appeasement carried to the point of giving Hitler a "free hand" in the East

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would have led to Britain's living under the German (and Nazi) shadow. Resistance gave at least a chance of future life under the American umbrella. Either way, Britain was through as a Great Power. There is a further point. Hitler and Stalin were both monsters: would Nazi rule over Eastern Europe really have been preferable to Soviet rule?

In 1941 Hitler himself conjured up the alliance that beat him, by attacking the Soviet Union and gratuitously declaring war on the United States. From that moment onward nothing that Churchill did mattered much. Mr. Charmley is probably right to think that the United States would never have fought Hitler had Hitler not invited it to. But once America had been forced into war, it would never have accepted anything but unconditional surrender. Britain then had to fight the kind of war America wanted. The several hundred pages of sniping Mr. Charmley directs at Churchill's wartime leadership reveal a wayward warlord, but that is nothing new. The general atmosphere of sour grapes, and of regrets at what might have been, mar the last part of a fine work of history.

Mr. Charmley's attempt to link Britain's decline to Churchill's character fails. It took two great European civil wars, proceeding with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy, to make the United States and the Soviet Union, for a time, the arbiters of "old" Europe. All the decisions in 1914 and 1939 were made by men trapped by their countries' pasts. One can construct any number of pleasing "counterfactuals," but none of them were even close run things. At least Britain went out with a bang, not a whimper. It "hung on," as the traditional historiography has it. Churchill invested its last moment of glory with the spirit of Chatham and clothed it with the rhetoric of Macaulay. That is why the Churchill myth will endure. □

Victoria's Secrets

FORREST McDONALD

TO THE educated middle class in the nineteenth century, it was a commonplace that virtue must be taught and learned—that "natural" man, contrary to the Rousseauean myth, was a savage and not a noble one. So assuming, vast numbers of writers, preachers, philosophers, and scientists devised theories and rules of conduct and social conventions that would tame the beast in man. In *The Cultivation of Hatred*, the third of a projected seven volumes on bourgeois culture in the Victorian era, Peter Gay attempts to describe one broad aspect of the undertaking, that aimed at controlling man's presumed natural inclination toward violence. Mr. Gay unnecessarily compounds the difficulties of his task by using words in a somewhat muddled fashion. The word "hatred" in his title, for instance, is too strong. He means, rather, aggressiveness; and at midpoint in the work, he calmly declares that "the aggressive drive, we know, is not synonymous with hostility." Again, he writes of "alibis" for aggression, only to soften the tone by using the word interchangeably with "rationales" and "justifications."

The Cultivation of Hatred: The Bourgeois Experience Vol. 3: Victoria to Freud, by Peter Gay (Norton, 685 pp., $30)

Nevertheless, Mr. Gay's thesis comes through clearly enough. The principal devices employed by Victorians to curb and channel pugnacity, he writes, were "the case for competition," adapted from a biological theory to cover economic and social activities; "the construction of the convenient Other," a mixture of pseudoscientific "discoveries" with traditional prejudices; and the promotion of the "cult of manliness," an adaptation of "the aristocratic ideal of prowess." These rationales "cultivated hatred, in both senses of the term," fostering as well as restraining it by providing "respectable pleas for its candid exercise" and "compelling it to flow within carefully staked out channels of approval." All that is set forth early in the book. The remainder rings the changes in lengthy chapters on pathologies, politics, relations between the sexes, humor, and the drive for mastery (especially over nature). In support of his thesis, Mr. Gay masses a huge array of details, anecdotes, quotations, and contemporary commentaries.

The data that constitute the heart of the book are often instructive and occasionally entertaining, but they are marred by problems. One is that, even though Mr. Gay repeatedly warns of the perils of glib overgeneralization about the Victorians, he sometimes glibly overgeneralizes. On one page he writes of "the vituperativeness that the nineteenth century relished," and on the next he declares that the age was "desperate to control the passions." Elsewhere, he not only puts thoughts in people's heads, he injects struggles into their unconscious. (As P.G. Wodehouse might have said, Joe McGinniss could take his correspondence course.) Mr. Gay also indulges in what I call chained-dogisms, after a historian who once wrote, bizarrely, that "there is nothing like seeing a chained dog to bring out the sadist in all of us." For example, "the hostile joke stands in for the desire, nearly always blunted or frustrated, to wound or kill one's enemies"; or, the statement that children have no sense of humor. Too, Freudianisms abound: nineteenth-century Caesarism was "an incongruous but viable amalgam of aggressions with erotic undertones"; "warfare between striking out and holding in . . . is, of course, everyone's lot"; prizefight fans "obtained psychological rewards—we would call them narcissistic supplies—from attending these 'blackguard and brutal' battles." (I would not be caught dead calling anything narcissistic supplies.)

The inanities merely irritate. More disturbing is the question of the reliability of Mr. Gay's data. Many of his sources and subjects lie outside the areas in which I can profess special competence, but in those areas in which I can claim expertise, errors are rife. In a brief sketch of Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. Gay does not notice that when Teddy and his "roughriders" went to Cuba they arrived without horses, misses the political calculations that inspired Roosevelt to have Booker T. Washington as a dinner

Mr. McDonald's new book, The American Presidency: An Intellectual History, *is forthcoming from the University Press of Kansas.*

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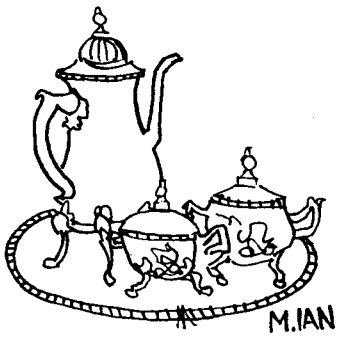
guest at the White House, fails to understand the essentially bogus Northern Securities Case, does not realize that Roosevelt's "legislative program" was the work of others, overlooks the fact that instead of controlling "abuses" in the steel industry Roosevelt agreed to the creation of a steel monopoly, and tells us that Roosevelt "was the first to inject the Federal Government into a labor dispute"—though Presidents had been interfering in such disputes for more than thirty years. He mistimes the slogan "manifest destiny" by four decades. He garbles his account of the Alien and Sedition Acts, apparently being unaware that the Sedition Act broadened freedom of the press by making truth a defense in federal cases of seditious-libel (which it was not under the laws of the several states, where Jeffersonians gleefully brought seditious-libel prosecutions against their Federalist enemies). He tells us the decennial United States census was inaugurated in 1800 (the first census was in 1790). And so on.

Similarly suspect is Mr. Gay's interpretation of fictional works, on which he relies heavily as a source for social attitudes. The point can be made by referring to a long and awesomely tedious chapter called "The Powerful, Weaker Sex." Mr. Gay depicts two prevailing stereotypes designed to keep women in the home and thereby protect the male's fragile self-confidence: the "man-eating creature concealed beneath a façade of ladylike submissiveness" ("the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world") and "the masterful perception of woman as too pure and vulnerable to function in the world." Now, never mind that in dealing with the urban bourgeoisie he ignores the rural majority, the reality that most families still worked together on farms. Never mind that in societies where the "cult of manliness" genuinely prevailed, such as in Spain and the American South, wives ran the business affairs, sordid concern with commerce being beneath the masculine dignity. Never mind that though Mr. Gay mentions abolitionism only in passing, the abolitionist movement was, at least in the United States, propelled by women, and its propaganda was directed at the crimes committed upon black females by white masters. Never mind that Queen Victoria is not mentioned at all in an eighty-page chapter on women in the Victorian age. What concerns us here is Mr. Gay's use of literary evidence.

Let us comment on two novelists, Thackeray and Dickens, to whom Mr. Gay devotes considerable space. We are told that "when Thackeray did have a hero, like Henry Esmond, his heroic qualities manifested themselves in his overcoming sexual temptations, and 'holding fast to honor, duty, vir-



tue.'" True enough of Esmond, but what would Gay do with Esmond's twin grandsons, George and Henry Warrington, protagonists of *The Virginians*, who jointly shatter the stereotype cult of manliness, and their mother, who by no means fits Gay's molds for women? As for Dickens, there are some women who conform to the molds, but a great number of Dickens's memorable females—Edith Dombey, the dolls' dressmaker, Madame Defarge—are far more complex and fascinating than Mr. Gay's model allows. (Predictably, he regards Dickens's masterly portrayal of Mrs. Jellyby as a "cheap caricature of feminism," apparently not noticing that Dickens was equally devastating in exposing male frauds.)

Space limitations prevent extended comment upon another subject that Mr. Gay treats, namely the much-condemned hypocrisy of the Victorians. Hypocrisy has had a bum rap. To be a hypocrite is to pretend to be something that one is not. Given that we are fallen creatures, sinners all, and not only in our hatreds and our aggressions, to the extent that we successfully pretend otherwise, we become moral, decent, virtuous—civilized—human beings. As Kurt Vonnegut put it, we are what we pretend to be, so we must be careful what we pretend.

These observations have perhaps been too negative. Many things about the book deserve applause. For example, Mr. Gay numbers his pages consecutively, which is a genuine convenience. (That was meant to be a funny remark. It does not mean that I wish Peter Gay were dead.) □

Holy (sort of) Scripture (sort of)

JON D. LEVENSON

THE BIBLE that Simon & Schuster has just released is a new version of an old book—but not the old Book you may have in mind. It is, instead, an updated version of the expurgated Bible that an author, critic, and former English professor named Ernest Sutherland Bates published with the same company in 1936. Bates's version, Lodowick Allison explains in his helpful introduction, was intended "to be read as a book," and to this end Bates eliminated the enumeration of chapters and verses as well as "the double-column format, separated the stories, poems, and songs from the text, introduced quotation marks, and modernized spellings." Mr. Allison, a former publisher of *NR*, correctly concludes that "the result is refreshing to the eye accustomed to the dense typography of most editions of the Bible" and points out that many of Bates's innovations "have now been copied by new translations" that have appeared over the past three decades. For good reason, since with the exception of the elimination of chapter and verse (which makes it impossible to give

The Bible, arranged and edited by Ernest Sutherland Bates, with updated scholarship and a new introduction by Lodowick Allison (Simon & Schuster, 1,254 pp., $25)

Mr. Levenson is the Albert A. List Professor of Jewish Studies at Harvard University and the author, most recently, of The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity *(Yale).*

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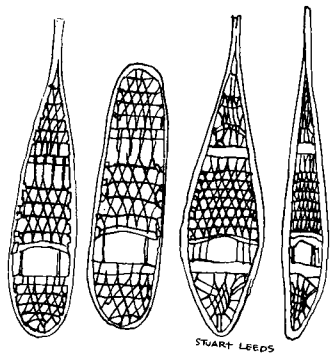
standard references) these rather mechanical changes are eminently sensible.

Bates had, however, a larger agenda, and it is this to which Mr. Allison draws attention when he writes in his afterword that the Bible is "*living* literature" and not, as T. S. Eliot and others have thought, "too holy to be regarded as literature at all." To his credit, Mr. Allison sees the readers' appreciation of the literary quality of the Bible as "one level" of their experience of it, one that may be only the first destination in "a journey that will take them ever deeper": a "single passage might be pure poetry to one person and a life-changing message to the next."

Fair enough, but Bates's editorial philosophy did not reckon adequately with the collision between the aesthetic and the religious aims of the Bible's readers. A nice example is the choice of the King James Version (KJV) as the translation used for all but four books. "Its stories and teachings, its rhythm and words," Mr. Allison writes, "are the threads which wove the fabric of our country together." The stories and teachings of the KJV are not, however, different from those of other translations of the same text, and its rhythm and words have never been preferred by faithful, Bible-reading Catholics and Jews in America or elsewhere. One need not subscribe to the separationist and often racist extremes of present-day academic multiculturalism to see that, especially on matters religious, the threads in our nation have never been altogether woven together, despite the profound assimilationist pressures exerted by the Protestant establishment. If the KJV is to be naturalized as an American classic, the cultural Americanism of non-Protestants must be cast into grave doubt.

If one wishes to avoid this conclusion, as I suspect Mr. Allison does, then one must at least leave open the possibility that the importance of the Bible in American culture has more to do with its status as a community-specific Scripture than with any conception of it as a universal literary classic. The Bates Bible, like the work of many students of the Bible as literature, is founded upon a false claim: that the Bible can be approached as a literary classic without prejudice in favor of or against any particular religious tradition. As soon as we identify the "Bible" with any given canon, we have, in fact, already moved away from that chimerical neutral position, and all the aesthetics in the world will not get us back to it.

The same collision of aesthetics and



religion can be seen in the way Bates pared down the Christian canon. "Bates," as Mr. Allison puts it, "decided that the major obstacle to reading the Bible was the traditional canon itself" and thus eliminated from his version "misplaced books, tribal legal codes, genealogies," and the like. Those who find in the Bible Mr. Allison's "life-changing message" may want to retort here that the material that did not come up to snuff is actually a large part of the word of God and therefore not within the authority of any human being to cut, however compelling the aesthetic grounds for so doing. "For it [i.e., the word of God] *is* not a vain thing for you," reads Deuteronomy 32:47 in the King James Version, a passage that Bates revealingly omits (though, as usual, without any indication that something has been dropped). Remarks an ancient rabbi in the Talmud, "If it is vain, the problem is from you. Why? Because you are not laboring in the Torah." But in order for us to rise to the daunting challenge of laboring in the Biblical text, we must first see it, and this we cannot do if its tedious, foreign, or offensive parts are lying on the editor's floor.

The irony is that even on literary grounds, quite apart from any appeal to religious authority, a convincing case can be made against the sort of cutting that one sees in the Simon & Schuster Bible. For example, recent scholarship has argued that those genealogies that Bates found so expendable actually serve as major structuring elements in books such as Genesis and Numbers. Without them, the narratives, upon which Bates places such stress, seem disconnected (as indeed they are in this pared-down text), and the reader inevitably misses the unity of these books and other larger textual units as well as the accompanying theological messages. Similarly, without those law codes that the introduction pronounces "irrelevant to anyone but the theologian today" (apparently all observant Jews are theologians!), we have to read the story of the sale of Joseph without the critical knowledge that kidnapping was a capital offense in ancient Israel, and we have to approach the tale of Naboth's vineyard in ignorance of the elaborate protections against the alienation of ancestral lands that the law establishes.

Finally, the oddity must not be missed that this Bible includes Jesus' claim that the *Sh'ma* and the ensuing commandment to love God totally is "the first of all the commandments," yet the passage Jesus is reported to have quoted (Deuteronomy 6:4-5) is not to be found. Committed Christians will prefer Jesus' judgments to Bates's, and religious Jews, who recite the *Sh'ma* every morning and every evening of their lives, will suspect that Simon & Schuster is not altogether interested in doing their tradition justice.

The serious Bible-reader would be well advised to choose a more reliable, less tendentious edition. □

Lost and Found

DIGBY ANDERSON

SOME ten years ago I noticed a copy of Baroness Orczy's *Scarlet Pimpernel* in a second-hand bookshop. As I picked it up and leafed through it, I remembered just how much I had enjoyed it at the age of ten. What I had enjoyed was not just the adventure but adventure infused with morality. I bought it and read it again expecting to find it nonsense. It

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is not nonsense. In fact it is all the better today since its genre is so rare. Slowly the names started coming back: not just Baroness Orczy but Rider Haggard, Anthony Hope, Rafael Sabatini, G. A. Henty, Harrison Ainsworth, Conan Doyle, C. S. Forester, John Buchan, P. C. Wren, Percy Westerman, and a dozen others. What had happened to all those books? I suppose I must have thrown them away. Some I never owned but borrowed from libraries or other boys—"You can have my Henty, if you lend me your Buchan."

Anyway, I started to look for replacement copies. And the first point of this personal note is that re-collecting them was hard. There are surprisingly few about. Of course, you can find them if you are prepared to visit countless bookshops and sift through the filth and inanity that fill them—and the unpleasant people one finds in bookshops these days. Of course, you can find them if you are content to wait. But you are not content to wait. Read *Greenmantle* or *She* and it's so good you want more *now*, and not just the well-known ones such as *Prester John* and *King Solomon's Mines*, but the many more less well known: *The Courts of the Morning* and *The Prince of the Captivity*, *Nada the Lily* and *Moon of Israel*. Ten years later I have them—most of them in a tall Victorian bookcase, eight shelves entirely filled with reactionary novels.

Suppose you wanted to do something similar. Suppose you wanted to collect the books that gave you so much pleasure as a child and did so much for your moral formation—not perhaps quite my stories but shorter stories suitable for younger children. Suppose you wanted to do this not for yourself but for your own children. You would face a long and a daunting task to find them. Or you would have done till now. For William Bennett has done all your work for you. In one volume he has collected a wealth of short moral tales and poems suitable for young children. There are 873 pages of them.

They are ordered under the virtues they illustrate and encourage: self-discipline, compassion, responsibility, friendship, work, courage, perseverance, honesty, loyalty, and faith. Each section starts with stories suitable for adults to read to young children or for the young children to read for themselves, then goes on to ones suitable for older children. For instance, "Responsibility" starts with Olive Wadsworth's Mother Toad, the Three Little Kittens, and Orphan Annie, proceeds through St. George and the dragon and Alfred's burnt cakes, through Damocles and "The Charge of the Light Brigade," and goes on to Thucydides, Plato, and Jefferson.

Mr. Bennett has created a treasury no conservative parent would want to be without. For conservative parents know the role such stories can play in moral education. The early building of character depends heavily on examples, both in this world and in literature. Children—and adults to some degree—emulate people, not ideas. Modern societies are going through a period of grave social disorder shown in crime, marriage collapse, gender confrontation, community disintegration, and drug abuse. The way back is through the rediscovery of the good, of the virtues. Virtues are taught by good laws, by stern punishments, and by moral tales. What Mr. Bennett has provided, then, is not just a source of enjoyment and literary education, but a contribution to moral literacy and a path back to social order for future generations.

One can always find fault with particular collections. I would have liked sections on courtesy, hope, and service, for instance. The token non-Christian readings are a mistake. This is overwhelmingly a Christian book, and

The Book of Virtues: A Treasury of Great Moral Stories, edited, with commentary by William J. Bennett (Simon & Schuster, 873 pp., $27.50)

Mr. Bennett should not be afraid to say so. But there are two more general drawbacks—both minor. I was struck by how little it resembles my own reactionary library. This is largely because mine are mostly full-length novels and many are English. But there are few tales in the Bennett collection that have the *spirit* found in Buchan, Hope, and the others in the Victorian bookcase. The blood-and-morality novels have a moral energy some of his tales lack. I was going to say his are more suitable for little girls than little boys but it is not quite that. There is a slight tendency to preciousness in the new collection. Here's a revealing test. Both sorts of books would infuriate progressive persons, but while Mr. Bennett's would make them retch, the Hopes and Haggards would make them explode.

That is related to the other tendency. The longer stories are edited to bring out their moral parts, the punch line. Each story is preceded by a little introduction which explains its moral point. This plus the collection of so much morality in one volume does make for a sort of earnestness. I can't see how this could be got round but it is unfortunate, because morality should not be earnest. It can be carried, if not lightly, *apparently* lightly. That is why Sir Richard Hannay, Sir Percy Blakeney, Allan Quatermain, and the other swashbucklers make such good moral heroes: they are good and attractive. And if morality mixed with adventure makes for easier reading, so does morality mixed with humor. Two poems about truth show this well. One shows the rewards of honesty, the other, the fate of liars. But the difference is that the first is flat and earnest, the second, teasing and amusing. The little boy with a curly head and pleasant eye who never never told a lie and therefore had lots of friends (p. 601) is a rather repulsive prig. Belloc does much better with Matilda (pp. 607–8). She, of course, told dreadful lies and called the fire brigade when there wasn't a fire, and so when there was one the fire brigade wouldn't come. "For every time she shouted 'Fire!' / They only an-

Mr. Anderson is the editor of The Loss of Virtue: Moral Confusion and Social Disorder in Britain and America *(National Review Books).*

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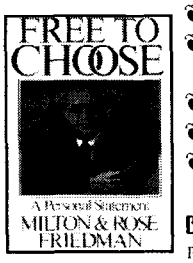

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swered 'Little liar!' / And therefore when her aunt returned, / Matilda and her house were burned."

It is very important that those who exhibit the virtues in real life and in literature do not exhibit the grim earnestness of their progressive and politically correct opponents. One of the lesser-known titles of Christ was "the attractive one" or "He who attracts." The best stories in this excellent collection are those with characters who are good and fun, good and attractive. □

Bartlett's Familiar Quotas

ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

IT IS SAD watching an old friend go senile. For years, one of my closest, most trusted literary companions has been *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*. In matters both grave and gay (in the authentic sense of the word), *Bartlett's* has been an endless source of serious thought and ready wit, a useful tool when brainstorming, a reliable reference for authenticating, and a pleasant pasture for mental grazing.

Sometime after its 14th edition, published in 1968, my old friend began showing the combined symptoms of late male menopause and early Alzheimer's. A middle-aged obsession with staying trendy merged with a senile loss of values and memory. *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* was degenerating into *Bartlett's Familiar Quotas*, the 15th edition showing the first tell-tale signs of this affliction. Donning the intellectual bell-bottoms and platform shoes of its era, *Bartlett's* began spouting third-rate Third World, youth-culture, and feminist quotes. Still, my old friend had his good days (or pages), moments when his solid core of classic and modern eloquence prevailed.

Then, as often happens when someone is in failing health, poor old *Bartlett's* fell into the hands of a quack. Like many quacks, Professor Justin Kaplan has his share of dazzling credentials, including a Pulitzer Prize for his biography of Mark Twain. But the man is a faddist, a political fast-food crank who, as general editor, put the new, 16th edition of *Bartlett's* on a lethal diet of PC clichés, feminist fodder, ethnic junk food, and pop (culture) corn.

Professor Kaplan has rightly been criticized by conservatives for the miserly amount of space he has devoted to such major contemporary figures as Ronald Reagan. Adam Meyerson, editor of *Policy Review*, was the first to point out a liberal bias amounting to censorship. He continues to lead the attack, which has been joined by many non-conservative organs, including the *New York Times*.

Bartlett's Familiar Quotations, edited by Justin Kaplan (Little, Brown, 1,472 pp., $40)

Consider a few of the numbers: the Great Communicator has 3 formal entries, as compared to 7 for that Demosthenes of Malaise, Jimmy Carter, 6 for LBJ, 28 for JFK, 19 for Harry Truman, and 36 for FDR. The only other modern Presidents with only 3 quotes are both, no doubt coincidentally, Republicans: Gerald Ford and Dwight Eisenhower.

But numbers do not tell the whole story. There is a perverse bias even in cases of attribution. Reagan receives only footnote recognition for his magnificently vindicated characterization—with a little help from speechwriter Tony Dolan—of the Soviet Union as an "Evil Empire." It appears in the entry for George Lucas, whose *Star Wars* screenplay introduced the term. But when we turn to the entry for John F. Kennedy, we find his windy "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country . . ." inaugural declamation printed in full, with no reference to the fact that it was filched from an old chestnut of Kahlil Gibran's written generations earlier: "Are you a politician asking what your country can do for you or a zealous one asking what you can do for your country?" The original Gibran quote did not even make it into *Bartlett's*.

As annoying as what did not get in is much of what did. In his far more valuable *Oxford Dictionary of Modern Quotations*, editor Tony Augarde defines the simple qualities that make for a good quote: "What is a 'quotation'? It is a saying or piece of writing that strikes people as so true or memorable that they quote it (or allude to it) in speech or writing."

Word of this seems never to have reached Professor Kaplan, whose additions to *Bartlett's* include such gems as these:

—"Come on, baby, light my fire / Try to set the night on fire." (The Doors)

—"Me want cookie!" (The Cookie Monster)

—"Tennis, anyone?" (Unattributed)

—"If I have to, I can do anything / I am strong, I am invincible, I am Woman." (Helen Reddy)

—"A people without a history is like wind on the buffalo grass." (Sioux Indian saying)

There is much, much more, but you get the drift. Most of the new entries are either tritely trendy, mindlessly pop, or grotesque examples of political

Mr. Bakshian, editor-in-chief of American Speaker, *has served as a speechwriter to three U.S. Presidents, including Ronald Reagan.*

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correctness. Perhaps Professor Kaplan aspires to the mantle of Confucius, who once declared (not included in *Bartlett's*) that "If you lead the people with correctness, who will dare not be correct?"

Robert Benchley maintained that the "surest way to make a monkey of a man is to quote him." So let me quote Professor Kaplan: "Mr. Reagan . . . could not be described as a memorable phrase maker or original thinker." Compared to some of the windy buffalo grass with which Professor Kaplan has inflated his edition of *Bartlett's*, even Ronald Reagan's triter utterances are both memorable and models of original thought. □

FILM

Chinoiserie

JOHN SIMON

HARDLY had I finished reviewing *M. Butterfly*, when already several other Chinese or Chinese-American movies were upon us. Take ***The Joy Luck Club***, based on Amy Tan's bestseller about four women who regularly get together to play mahjong. They were all born in China but now live in San Francisco, and each trails behind her a dread past. Each also has a daughter for whom she harbors high hopes for a good American life. And all four women had, in their murky Chinese histories, mothers whose positions were inferior even to their daughters', yet who fought tenaciously for their girlchildren.

At once you will perceive a rather too fearful symmetry in those fearsome foursomes. It takes four to play mahjong, which is how Miss Tan must have gotten the idea to do everything foursquarely by fours. Yet however this may work in the wider scope and statelier pace of the novel, a movie—even a two-and-a-half-hour one—cannot bear this much freight. *The Joy Luck Club* must juggle the stories of four grandmothers, mothers, daughters, and, to make it a baker's dozen, a pair of sisters, whom their mother had to abandon in China, and whom, years later, their American half-sister, June, comes to fetch to America. To make this meeting more tearjerking, the elderly sisters expected to see their and June's mother, but learn now that Mother died recently, and that half-sister June is all they get. Tears of joy proliferate nevertheless, and the movie ends awash in liquid sentiment.

June conveys their bereavement in fluent Chinese, even though when she set out for China, she spoke not a word of the language. True, she made the trip by boat, but is there a slow boat to China quite so slow as to allow acquiring that difficult language during one passage? The movie not only piles 13 heart-tugging stories on top of one another, it also dispenses with verisimilitude in sundry details. Mathematics clearly went by the board from the start. Thirteen dramas into two and a half hours means about ten minutes per sob story, and it must take a person very loose in his or her lachrymal glands to allow them to be jerked at such record speed, and with such frequency.

But things get even more complicated. Various characters are seen at as many as three stages of their lives, and it is no mean feat for a non-Chinese viewer to make the right connections between An Mei, age four, An Mei, age nine, and An Mei circa fifty or sixty, or whatever age she is at the mahjong table. So what we get here is pretty opaque, but sufficiently sentimental to qualify as an effective Sino-American soap opera, complete with exotic minority appeal.

Still there may be one positive aspect to this web of intertwined miseries. For miseries they are, despite some humor involving all these doting mothers and sometimes rebellious daughters. Matrimonial miseries, as we get three unhappy marriages: one in China, to a strikingly handsome but brutal philanderer; one in America, to a Caucasian socialite, who also cheats; and yet another in America, to a horribly Americanized Chinese capitalist, sexist, and miser. These three bad marriages serve to further idealize the mother–daughter relationship as something better and holier than that between spouses. Could this be reverse sexism?

Back to the positive aspect, however: NBC News assures us that this is the first Hollywood film in which Chinese people are presented as likable, normal human beings, even if one mother in desperate straits abandons two baby girls, and another, having no other way to get back at her brutish husband, drowns their baby in the bathtub. Yet I wonder whether, however sympathetically viewed, characters in a soap opera ever achieve enough genuine humanity to counteract all those Yellow Peril and Kung Fu stereotypes we have been plied with for so long. It will take a better screenplay than this, by Amy Tan and Ronald Bass, to do the trick.

On the other hand, most of the performances are extremely appealing, and some of the humor provides welcome leavening. Yet even the humor tends to leave a sudsy taste in your mouth. Wayne Wang has directed stylishly, and Amir Mokri's camera can wax duly poetic. And yes, it is nice to see Chinese-Americans achieve their *embourgeoisement*: what could be more middle-class than this movie?

■ A much more considerable film is ***Farewell My Concubine***, made in Hong Kong and China by Chen Kaige, a co-winner at the Cannes Festival. Oddly enough, this, too, is a two-and-a-half-hour movie, but there the similarity to *The Joy Luck Club* ends. The latter is soap opera; this one is Chinese opera, and, as seen through the eyes of two of its stars, the fortunes of China. The film takes us from the era of the warlords (the Twenties) to that of the Cultural Revolution (the Sixties); in between, there is the Japanese occupation, the Nationalist government, and, finally, Maoism. It is an outspoken picture, and has run into all sorts of trouble with the Chinese authorities. Alas, persecution does not, any more than the Cannes prize, confer automatic masterpiece status on its object.

Farewell My Concubine begins very strongly and ends equally powerfully, but has a long, sagging middle, where it, too, turns pretty soapy. The story of two friends, Cheng Dieyi and Duan Xiaolou, apprenticed as boys to the Peking opera, it follows them through their arduous rise to stardom, through

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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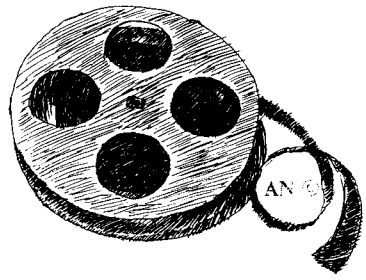
their troubled private lives and their downfall under Communist abuse. Kaige's film is not the easiest 154 minutes I ever spent. Still, the first 40 minutes or so are utterly absorbing in their tenaciously harrowing way. The tortures inflicted by their teachers on these young boys are related with a chilling objectivity that is not all that far from relish. The atmosphere is midway between that of *Oliver Twist* and that of Octave Mirbeau's proto-pornographic classic, *Torture Garden*.

These sequences explain a lot about why Chinese acrobats are unsurpassable, and why Far Eastern peoples can endure hardship better than most others can. The film, written by Lilian Lee and Lu Wei from the former's novel, is clearly in the popular, subartistic vein, but the impact of the subject matter and Kaige's forceful direction combine to rescue it from mediocrity.

Dieyi is delicate of build and a homosexual, and excels at women's roles. Xiaolou is burly, almost beefy, and specializes in warriors. We see them perform diverse roles, but especially the opera *Farewell My Concubine*, in which the mighty King of Chu (Xiaolou), finally defeated, wants his horse and his concubine Wu to escape to safety. Both noble creatures prefer to stay with their master, Wu (Dieyi) dancing for him one last time before slitting her throat with his sword. This opera becomes symbolic of the destinies of our principals. Dieyi is in love with the heterosexual Xiaolou, who, however, roisters in brothels, and ends up marrying the beautiful superwhore Juxian, who makes him a shrewd and loyal wife. The jealous Dieyi turns cold to Xiaolou and icy to Juxian, and gets involved in shady homosexual relationships with persons in power.

The ways in which politics and history impinge on these relationships is not without interest; neither is the connection between gender-bending in Chinese opera and Dieyi's sexuality. But the film opts for melodrama, starting with Dieyi's prostitute mother chopping off her boy's sixth finger to make him acceptable to the opera people. It treats us to frequent disciplinary beatings and other propaedeutic torments, goes on to a number of betrayals and sacrifices, introduces a couple of smooth villains right out of Josef von Sternberg, and becomes tiresome not through lack of incident, but through excess. It does, however, pick up tremendous power when the three principals fall victim to the Cultural Revolution. The manner in which the Red Guards, hardly more than children, manage to make three adults go morally to pieces is depicted with sickening authenticity. Psychological browbeating proves even worse than the physical tortures by the opera teachers, which, by the way, do not quite stop even after the boys become men.



The movie toys with all sorts of parallels: politics and private life, loving prostitutes (or concubines) of three separate but answering kinds, related instances of artists performing under enemy eyes, and echoes of life in art and vice versa. But it seems to score only through violence; nonviolent episodes never rise to comparable heights. And when Dieyi replicates the sacrifice of the concubine Wu in a way that makes art and life coincide a little too perfectly, the didacticism subverts the intended pathos.

How you will respond to *Farewell My Concubine* may also depend on your tolerance for Peking opera, of which there is quite a bit in the movie; it is, I'm sorry to have to confess, not music to my ears. But there are many rewards for the eyes, not least of them the portrayal of Juxian by the gorgeous and greatly gifted Gong Li, whom we have admired in the films of her husband, Zhang Yimou. She is just as good for Chen Kaige. All the acting is persuasive, as is the camera work of Gu Changwei. Yet there is one thing we never find out: What happened to the King of Chu's self-sacrificing steed? Perhaps because there is no ready parallel for it in the main story, the poor horse gets short shrift. □

TRAVEL

Islamic Fundamentalism Revisited

RICHARD BROOKHISER

THE largest collection of Moslems in the world is in Indonesia, 155.7 million. The second largest is in Pakistan, 110.6 million. The third is in India, 92.8 million. The fourth is in Bangladesh, 77.9 million. The fifth is in Turkey, 55.9 million. Though Islamic fundamentalism has appeared as far afield as Sumatra and Jersey City, the phenomenon the phrase denotes is a political movement centered in the Middle East, and hence among a minority of the world's Moslems.

You wouldn't guess this, to read recent conservative polemics. As if to justify the slanders of our enemies that we wouldn't know what to do if we didn't have Lenin to kick around any more, some conservatives—William F. Buckley Jr., Eric Breindel—have been warning of the menace of Islamic fundamentalism. There is a menace, and we can call it "Islamic fundamentalism" if we like, so long as we use the term in a precise and limited way. But the world of Islam, and of the fundamentalist forces within it, is big. This struck me most recently when I visited Konya, the center of piety in Turkey.

Konya is a large, drab city in south-central Anatolia. The Mediterranean is four hours away, over the mountains to the south, the Aegean ten hours to the west. The only thing to coax tourists there is the tomb of Mevlana Jalal ad-Din Rumi, a thirteenth-century mystic who founded the whirling dervishes.

Mevlana's tomb is housed in a boxy shrine in the center of town. Many of the visitors come to pray, with hands held, palm up, at chest level. The rest are sightseers from German or Italian tour groups. The sight most worth see-

Mr. Brookhiser, an NR *senior editor, is a columnist for the* New York Observer, and the author of The Way of the WASP.

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ing is the calligraphy of the mottoes on the walls: some as sleek and stylized as advertising, some as jumpy as an electrocardiogram.

In Konya you see three layers of Turkish life, like the layers of a cake. The top layer was laid down in the Twenties and Thirties by Kemal Ataturk. Ugly socialist-realist sculptures of him adorn every main square in the country, and pictures of him, often in white tie, hang on many shop walls. Ataturk had the program of Evelyn Waugh's Emperor Seth, and the character of Ulysses Grant. He changed the Turkish script from Arabic to Roman, banned the fez and the veil, wrote a constitution, and held elections.

In matters of faith Ataturk was a skeptic. He had read Rousseau as a young man, and once remarked of the Turks, "If only we could make them Christians." But he took care never to utter such opinions in public. He contented himself with breaking the political power of religious leaders, and briskly crushing the occasional rebellions raised against him under the green flag of the Prophet.

The Turks accepted Ataturk, indeed worshipped him, because conditions in Turkey had become so desperate in the long decay of the Ottoman Empire that they were willing to try anything. But their willingness was circumscribed, after all, by their basic conservatism. An American diplomat once told me that the reason why the Turks accepted democracy was that "Ataturk told them to"—a remark rich in ironies about his ambitions, and their capacities. In various ways they have stopped at the point where he left them, or backslid. Though I've never seen a veil on a Turkish woman, about half of them wear headscarves. The call to prayer, which was once delivered at Ataturk's command in Turkish, is now given in Arabic. This is the second layer of Turkish life, and what keeps pilgrims coming to a holy site like Konya.

The third layer is a surprise, and it concerns what Mevlana actually taught. For Mevlana was a mystic, who took up the pursuit of religious rapture after falling in love.

Mevlana, who was born in 1207 in what is now northern Afghanistan, settled in Konya in his early twenties, and followed his father in becoming a theologian. The turning point of his life came when he was 37, and a man named Shams al-Din appeared in Konya. Shams means "sun," and Mevlana felt his arrival as a spiritual sunrise. "Shams is an appetizer and wine," he wrote, "he is a drink and intoxication, he is the light and the fire." Shams subjected Mevlana to a variety of ordeals. Having decided that true knowledge is not to be found in books, he took Mevlana's and dropped them one by one into a pond, as Mevlana looked on. After a year, Shams suddenly disappeared, then returned. "United in ecstasy," wrote Mevlana, "we shall no longer be you or I." They were not united for long. Shams vanished a second time—murdered by jealous disciples of Mevlana's, according to some accounts, though it would be truer to his character if his final disappearance, like the first, was a deliberate teaching experience.

What was going on here? A passion, like Dante's for Beatrice, but a passion that Mevlana, like Dante, took for an image of God's ways toward man, and man's way to God. Mevlana devoted the rest of his life to mystical practice and teaching. He wrote a book of religious poetry, and founded an order of dervishes. Their whirling is a trance dance, a means of inducing an ecstatic state; the flute music that accompanies it symbolizes Mevlana's laments for Shams.

If an outsider may risk an opinion, I wonder what is necessarily Moslem about this? It is not against orthodoxy, but like many a mystical impulse in the West it seems quite a supplement to it. Mevlana followed a familiar pattern, proposing esoteric readings of the holy book. Some of his greatest admirers in his lifetime were the local Christians and Jews.

As an insider of the Great Satan, and thus a potential target for "Islamic fundamentalists," I submit that the Turkish example—a secular skin around a pious fruit which harbors at its core a rapturous duo—leaves the notion of a monolithic fundamentalism in fragments. Fundamentalism in any religion, despite its intentions, must be varied, because all attempts to get back to basics fall short in a variety of ways. Moses was not a Hasidic Jew. The early church was not the Southern Baptist Convention—or the Society of Friends, or the Franciscans. The certain failure of all fundamentalizing efforts may not relieve believers of the obligation to try. But their seriousness should not prevent us (or them) from seeing what actually goes on.

Some believers, meanwhile, are not even engaged in primarily religious exertions. If I want to understand the mindset that plants bombs in the World Trade Center, I will learn more by asking what pol is signing the checks in Teheran, than by studying the Koran. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Out of Work: Unemployment and Government in Twentieth-Century America, by Richard K. Vedder and Lowell E. Gallaway (Holmes & Meier, 336 pp., $49.95)

AT THE END of World War II Washington's power and prestige was at an all-time high. Encouraged by the apparent success of wartime spending in reducing unemployment, the government made full employment an explicit policy goal. But things did not go as planned. One of the more telling statistics in a book full of them is that the average unemployment rate was *lower* during the first thirty years of the century—when

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laissez-faire was in full flower—than it was during the most recent thirty years. For explanation, the authors turn to neoclassical economic theory: the demand for labor, like that for any other good, rises when its price falls, and falls when its price rises. When labor markets are left alone, unemployment is automatically eliminated by declining real wages. This sweeping history chronicles government's well-intentioned, but ultimately destructive, efforts to stymie this process. New Deal policies such as the Wagner Act, the NRA, and Social Security needlessly perpetuated the Depression by keeping wages high in a situation where they normally would have fallen. More recently the recovery from the 1990 recession was thwarted, according to Vedder and Gallaway's data, by two successive increases in the federal minimum wage. Full employment is not an end in itself, however. Living standards and employment can rise simultaneously only if labor productivity also expands. This happy confluence occurred throughout the Reagan boom. Legislation such as the 1991 Civil Rights Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and President Clinton's forthcoming health-care mandates make a reprise highly unlikely. —Ed Rubenstein

Religious Liberty in the Supreme Court: The Cases that Define the Debate over Church and State, edited by Terry Eastland (Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C.; 516 pp., $29.95)

THE meaning of the First Amendment, particularly its 16-word religion clause, has become one of today's most contentious political issues. Alas, few combatants on either side have even read the most important legal cases, let alone become familiar with the convoluted development of First Amendment jurisprudence. In response Terry Eastland has edited this book, which includes a thoughtful introduction, 25 leading Supreme Court opinions along with contemporaneous journalistic articles, and essays by Mary Ann Glendon of Harvard Law School, Michael Sandel of Harvard, and Michael McConnell of the University of Chicago Law School. Mr. Eastland's goal is more to instruct than to persuade. Still, he hopes readers will address basic issues, including the question whether, as the Supreme Court seems to suggest, "religion today should be seen as a purely private phenomenon, of little consequence to our public life." By providing an accessible reader on church–state issues, Eastland makes it more likely that Americans will not only ponder, but also answer, his question.

— Doug Bandow

To the White Sea, by James Dickey (Houghton Mifflin, 275 pp., $22.95)

TOO many modern writers have tried to emulate Ernest Hemingway's telegraphic writing style, only to have their work come off sounding childish and contrived. James Dickey, author of the celebrated book-*cum*-movie *Deliverance*, is the latest victim of the Hemingway temptation. This new book is a tightly plotted, well-executed story of survival against the odds, but its two-dimensional characters who think and speak like grammar-school children prevent it from being a complete success. The book is set during the waning months of the Pacific war against the Japanese. The story's protagonist, Muldrow, is a tailgunner on a B-29 that gets shot from the sky over Tokyo. Miraculously, he survives an on-board explosion and parachutes into the city, where he develops a relatively simple plan: to vanish into the snow and ice of Hokkaido, an island four hundred miles to the north, before the American Air Force burns Tokyo to the ground. As you might expect, he encounters numerous obstacles along the way, all of which he handles with extreme efficiency and troubling brutality. Without revealing anything more, let me say this: Though Mr. Dickey has failed to master the subtleties of the Hemingway style, he has nevertheless delivered an entertaining late-night read. —Robert Prysock

BELL

(Continued from page 52)

background and prejudices as a conservative Republican.

The clearest avenue of populist reform is the drive to make political institutions more accountable to the people. For instance, a major cause of elite unresponsiveness is parliamentary government, particularly the type of parliament elected by proportional representation. This kind of system claims to offer an exact expression of the popular will, but in practice fosters minority governments and endless maneuvering by parliamentary elites. In addition, pure parliamentary systems give incumbent political elites excessive control over the emergence of new party leaders.

Presidential systems divide power between the executive and legislative branches, giving popular opinion two branches of government to influence. And fixed dates for elections give political elites less leeway to shape events by timing re-election bids according to the economic cycle or other factors.

At least in the short run, few political elites will emulate the unusually open presidential system of the United States, or the total power to overrule elite decisions possessed by the Swiss electorate. An example of a successful hybrid reform was the late-1950s plan by Charles de Gaulle in France, which retained parliament but inaugurated a powerful independent presidency elected directly by the people. The Gaullist provision for a presidential runoff ensures majority rule while letting the first election serve as a vehicle for new candidates to emerge from outside the consensus of party elites.

There are signs that populist reforms are getting under way. Political parties in a number of countries, including Germany and Japan are beginning to experiment with primaries for national party leader. One hopeful sign from Europe is progress toward abolition of proportional representation in the Italian parliament. Above all, the drive for term limits in the United States is a clearly populist movement toward opening up politics. Swiss-style initiative and referendum, widely though not universally adopted at the state level here during the Progressive wave early this century, show signs of winning new adherents for state and perhaps even national issues.

But it is in the United States that one of the greatest threats to popular rule flourishes: the runaway judiciary. Twelve years of Reagan–Bush appointees have hardly obstructed continued micromanaging of social policy and school budgets. Judicial elitism knows no party. It is more accurately seen as an outgrowth of the gulf be-

(Continues on page 68)

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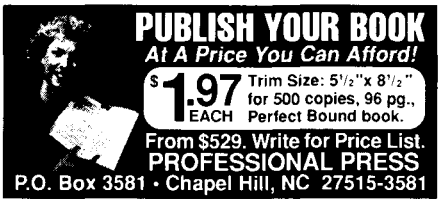
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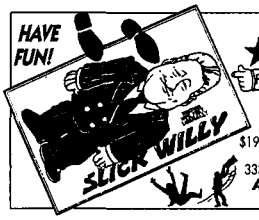

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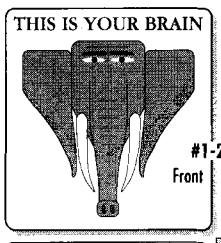

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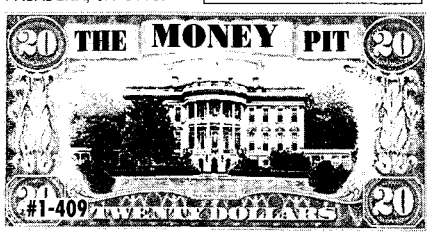

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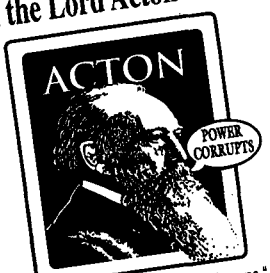

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BELL

(Continued from page 64)

tween elite and popular opinion. Institutional limitations to judicial power are far more likely than future "strict contructionist" appointments to curb this continuing assault on democracy.

Freeing the Economy

IN ECONOMIC policy, there is now widespread consensus on the need for deficit reduction. There is no consensus on how to go about it.

A populist solution would focus on reducing government claims on the people. The logic is that in a time when downsizing, often quite painful, has proved essential to private-sector vitality, bureaucratic central governments and their myriad activities and programs should prove no exception. In countries where nationalization was widespread, privatization has proved an important populist reform. A balanced-budget amendment to the U.S Constitution is a proposal that arouses opposition along generally populist–elitist lines. Elite opinion tends to attack the amendment as putting a straitjacket on legislative elites. The reply of most populists is: exactly.

Tax policy has also been a major populist–elitist battleground. The thrust among populist leaders like Ronald Reagan was a flattening of the progressive tax code combined with a cutback in special preferences for various economic elites. The continued elitist obsession with managing toward equality of result has moved tax policy back toward high rates and special preferences under Presidents Bush and Clinton. A populist platform on taxes is likely to combine a simple flat tax rate and generous exemptions according to size of family. On business taxes, a frequent populist thrust is encouragement of small business with low taxes on income and capital.

A common perception about populist politics is that it is isolationist and protectionist. Historically, that is not the case. The great populist leaders in the nineteenth-century English-speaking world—Jefferson, Jackson, Gladstone, among others—were all aggressive free-traders and evangelizers of democracy in the world. In our own time, Reagan and Thatcher continued that tradition.

It is when economic integration is accompanied by a price tag of centralized elite regulation—as in aspects of the Maastricht agreement or, less clearly, in NAFTA's side agreements—that populists get off the train. The efforts of Jacques Delors and other European Community elitists to make uniformity of social policy a prerequisite for integration is a vivid example of the elitist obsession with equality of result—and one that has served to discredit the European Community in the eyes of many voters.

Nowhere is the gap between popular and elite opinion greater than on moral values. The present-day elitist commitment to relativism means that most elites consider most forms of democratic setting of community standards to be illegitimate. The idea that community standards should be few and permissive, and at all times subject to review by judicial and other elites, is at the heart of today's elitism.

It cannot be denied that elitism has made enormous progress in eroding traditional standards and putting relativism at the heart of such institutions as education and entertainment. Because of the degree to which elite opinion has become united against traditional morality, this is the area in which some version of elite populism appears least likely to emerge or to be successful if it does.

The most difficult area is also the most essential. The triumph of relativism, erosion of the traditional family, and depopulation have a clear tendency to go hand in hand. The growing resistance to foreign immigration, in the U.S. and Western Europe, is anti-people and therefore anti-populist, but also has the populist component of a desire to preserve traditional culture. With the prospect of shrinking native populations in Germany, France and elsewhere, this desire has an increasingly desperate character.

The elitist world of managed equality of result and institutionalized relativism is a comparatively new one, fully observable in only a few countries in Northern Europe where it is well advanced. For whatever combination of reasons, this world is increasingly a world without children, and thus ultimately a culture without future existence. Of the many challenges confronting an emerging elite populism in the years ahead, this is the one that cannot be dodged. □

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 B	2 H	3 L	4 A	5 G	6 I	7 C	8 M	9 R	10 D	11 K		12 I	13 B	14 N	15 A	16 S		17 J	18 H					
19 C	20 I	21 L	22 E	23 N	24 F		25 K	26 A		27 H		28 B	29 J	30 P	31 D	32 F	33 R	34 S		35 G				
36 A	37 I	38 D	39 B		40 R	41 J	42 B		43 O	44 L	45 H	46 C	47 G	48 A		49 C	50 I		51 K	52 R				
53 M	54 D		55 L	56 D	57 C	58 F	59 G	60 J	61 N	62 K	63 Q		64 L	65 B	66 D	67 R	68 P	69 O	70 M	71 O				
	72 L	73 B	74 A	75 C		76 I	77 D	78 J		79 H	80 S		81 K	82 R		83 D	84 N	85 J	86 N					
87 H	88 E		89 K	90 I	91 C	92 Q		93 A	94 D	95 F	96 C	97 R	98 S		99 G	100L	101E		102I	103F				
	104E	105P	106B	107C	108R	109O		110C	111G	112Q		113L	114O		115C	116I	117R	118H	119F	120N				
121L		122F	123P	124O	125G		126O	127K	128I	129M		130A	131K	132F	133E	134D	135J	136M	137Q	138B				
	139I	140J	141E	142H	143A	144M	145S	146B		147F	148S		149A	150L	151G	152C	153P	154I	155N	156D				

DEFINITIONS

A. Certain CIA personnel — 36 93 74 48 143 15 130 149 4 26

B. Greek historian, fifth century BC — 28 73 1 106 42 138 65 39 13 146

C. Colt's home — 115 91 46 19 107 75 57 96 49 152

110 7

D. Part of the night scene — 66 83 10 94 156 56 38 134 31 77

54

E. Ladies' wear — 104 133 88 22 141 101

F. Part of the church service — 95 122 132 32 103 58 147 119 24

G. Made to feel at home — 35 59 111 5 151 125 47 99

H. Georgian, e.g. — 142 118 18 45 87 79 27 2

I. Part of eastern Canada — 20 6 76 50 102 37 116 139 128 90

154 12

J. Bitterness — 85 135 29 140 60 17 41 78

K. In insurance policies it may be double — 81 131 33 127 89 62 25 51 11

L. Out of sync — 121 100 55 21 113 150 3 72 44 64

M. Most prudent — 144 53 129 70 8 136

N. 10,000 square meters — 84 120 155 86 14 23 61

O. Baseball boners — 109 114 69 124 43 126

P. Correspond — 30 68 123 153 105

Q. Part of the Philippines — 112 137 92 63 71

R. Agra edifice — 82 40 117 108 67 52 9 97

S. Religiously unorthodox — 16 145 148 98 80 34

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

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Fetish Democrats

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 11

The democratic ideologues never have all that much to say when democracy takes them to the cliff's edge, or over it. The oldest democracy in the world, centered in Athens, just finished voting back into power probably the worst leader Greece has had in modern history. Andreas Papandreou is a crook, an exhibitionist adulterer, a Communist accommodationist who when prime minister did everything in his power to impoverish Greece. In return for these historic favors, the Greek people have in a democratic election voted him back in. And this happened while just about every statesman and philosopher in the West sits down every morning to finetune Russia's advance toward democracy.

Of course, self-rule is the desideratum. But ours is a country in which a President suspended the Bill of Rights at a time of crisis. Ours was a very explicit civil war. Yeltsin's is not that explicit, because people are getting killed here and there by the hundreds, not by the tens of thousands as was happening when Abraham Lincoln suspended habeas corpus. On the other hand, Russia has problems infinitely more divisive than our own. For one thing, it has no democratic tradition. Lincoln acted 70 years after we had ratified a constitution meticulously incorporating the essential liberties developed over 150 years of national life. The Declaration of Independence issued from the loins of a people who were heirs to centuries of tyranny and corruption and bloodletting and war, who fled to a virgin continent and procreated a state founded on the great postulates of liberty.

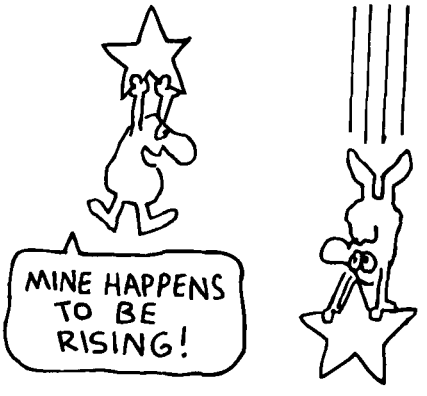
Russia has had none of this. Nations (notably Japan) have from time to time sprung fullblown to democracy and liberty. But this is the very rare exception, and to suppose that this is going to happen in Russia is to suppose something that belongs in a romantic Disneyland, not in the councils of mature states.

When Yeltsin abolished the legislature, imprisoned political leaders, closed down the opposition press, and forbade public political demonstrations, he violated just about every civil right guaranteed to Americans. But he is trying to take hold of 88 republics and territories, some of them in open resistance to any central authority, all of this in a context of rampant inflation and the most searing trauma ever to have been visited on a great country that hadn't lost a war: the jettisoning of a 70-year-old ideology around which the entire country had been developed. When Communism fell, it was as if the Church were hit by absolute proof that Christ was a historical fiction.

That is the nation struggling to stabilize. To impose on it the finished criteria of liberty as defined by the Warren Court is an exercise in intrusive frustration.

One asks: Did anybody, back then, propose warring, economically, politically, let alone militarily, against the Russia of the czars? They were absolute autocrats. And we all know that when Nicholas was overthrown, things very quickly got very much worse, finally engaging the defensive resources of the free world when the Communists acquired nuclear strength. Suppose that Yeltsin were headed toward autocracy?

Well. It would be a pity. But for so long as that autocracy did not become expansionist in its energies, the only guide to U.S. diplomacy must be: Sit and wait; and make every effort to give Russian libertarians access to the literature of freedom. If a Yeltsin-Russia were to turn to expansionism, we would need to depend on the identical brakes relied upon for two hundred years, namely a balance of power. To this end NATO continues critical, and the neutralization of Eastern Europe important. Above all, the pursuit of denuclearization is called for, and Yeltsin has offered no resistance on this score.



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Then get on with our own affairs, and hope that by our example Russia, and other countries, will resist those awful enzymes that work toward statist centralization. From Pericles to Papandreou in 2,500 years. That is a sobering thought for those ideologues who are confident that every day, in every way, things are getting better and better. But if you can't help Greeks do what's obviously right, you can't do much for that newborn infant in Eurasia that bears the scars of childbirth, and shows the stigmata of diseased parenthood. □

The Ongoing War Against SDI

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 8

I hope that someday some nice bright person will take me in hand and explain to me, using John-hit-the-baseball language, why, just why, the reflexes of the liberal community in America are so energized to discredit the whole idea of intercepting missiles aimed against us.

The latest chapter in the Kill-SDI campaign sprang from a story in the *New York Times* (Aug. 18). The reporter, Tim Weiner, wrote, "Officials in the 'Star Wars' project rigged a crucial 1984 test and faked other data in a program of deception that misled Congress as well as the intended target, the Soviet Union, four former Reagan Administration officials said."

What we are talking about is an event on June 10, 1984, 15 months after President Reagan promulgated the SDI program. The Army was running the fourth of a series of tests. It would be the showdown on the dramatic question, Can a bullet hit a bullet? That is, can a missile intercept an incoming missile and destroy it before it destroys Chicago?

Pause for a brief introduction to special terms. The simulated aggressive missile is called an HOE (Homing Overlay Experiment). A "transponder" is an electronic unit in the HOE designed to assist radar networks in tracking its path. A "radar beacon" is a radar transmitter. The "interceptor" is the simulated defense missile.

On June 10 at Vandenburg Air Force Base in California an HOE was fired on a westward course. An interceptor missile was fired from Meck Island in the

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Pacific. What happened was a direct hit. The HOE was destroyed. And the cause of SDI was enormously lifted, and the Soviet Union greatly put off.

Now the charge published by the *New York Times* is that the function of the radio beacon was to guide the interceptor to the HOE, permitting it to home in for the kill like a snake stalking a warm-blooded rodent. The *Times*'s revelation would have us all believe that the test was, actually, a phony; the motives of the military, to gouge more money from Congress. And then there was a second charge, which introduces another special term, "special access programs." (It really would be a kindness if the bureaucrats would come up with terms that don't misuse common English words. "Special access programs" have nothing to do with special access programs.) What this means is a disinformation program designed to confuse or misdirect the enemy.

What then happened was that Les Aspin, the secretary of defense, authorized a thorough investigation of the record. A summary of his conclusions was given on September 9 at a press conference widely unreported.

The principal finding is straightforward. On the matter of the radar beacon: "There was a radar beacon aboard the target vehicle. We also found that there was no receiver on board the interceptor for [meaning: designed to interact with] this radar. The beacon had been placed to assist in range and safety tracking of the target from the ground. The beacon was of a type not capable of [giving] final guidance [to] an interceptor . . . Our conclusion, then, was that the experiment was not rigged and, in fact, could not be rigged by the presence of the radar beacon."

On the matter of attempting to deceive Congress, Mr. Aspin advised the press that every anomaly pertaining to the June shoot was described in unclassified reports fully available to Congress, so that any failure by the SDI-hounds to pick up irregularities in the shoot was not the fault of the Defense Department.

On the matter of the special access programs, Mr. Aspin spoke more cautiously. Yes, he said, it is true that disinformation is a routine weapon, widely used during the Cold War. And yes, the United States Government did engage in disinformation with respect to anti-missile doings—in what respect, the SecDef quite naturally did not advise us. But remember this, said Mr. Aspin: Whereas it used to be that special access programs were not revealed to Congress, that changed in 1988—and the law now is that Congress must be let in on disinformation enterprises. Mr. Aspin subtly reminded his audience that he was a member of the opposition in 1988, and served as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. So that we have it from the Democratic secretary of defense that the Republican secretary of defense did not fake the critical June shot. □

Don't Call Me William

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 15

Some years ago I wrote a column ("Just Call Me Bill") in which I reproached myself for excessive formality. My habits were formed by Southern parents who inclined to Southern ways, and when *Firing Line* was launched, I reacted sharply against what I thought was the presumptuous informality of Edward R. Murrow, who in his famous interviews called everybody, with maybe the exception of the Duke of Windsor and his Duchess, by their first name. Accordingly, we use "Mr." on *Firing Line*, and "Miss" or "Mrs." My reflections on the matter, at age 50, were to the effect that seniority likes to be acknowledged at that point in life when seniority seeks out deference. A 25-year-old is pleased to be called "Mr." by a 15-year-old. But as time goes by, the age differential becomes something that the older person is happy to ignore. So that the 40-year-old who addresses the 50-year-old as "Mr." runs the risk of calling attention to a relative venerability that the older person by no means wishes to acknowledge, let alone advertise.

But the clock has moved so rapidly on the matter that much of the younger generation is apparently appalled at any prospect of using the more formal mode of address. A receptionist, some months ago, nodded happily to the sofa and said, "Just take a seat there, William." I was stunned. I might have replied, "I am Mr. Buckley, not Mr. William." But the freckled girl had such a sunny countenance I felt that any rebuke, however oblique, would bring her out of her happy fantasyland to a crash landing with stuffy old men.

But it happens now not episodically, but regularly. Ordering parts for a computer, I was in the hands of a saleslady who wrote down my surname, my address, and my phone number, and then said, "What is your first name, so I'll know who to ask for?" This time I was made of sterner stuff, so I replied, "Just ask for Mr. Buckley. I am the only Mr. Buckley who lives at that residence." I am not absolutely sure she got the point.

But against the aggressor last week, I waged total war. It was a telephone conversation, and the saleslady, having taken down the data she needed, said: "And what can we do for you, William?"

I found myself saying, "Have we met?" She didn't quite know how to answer this, so I moved quickly to the kill: "If not, why don't you call me Mr. Buckley?"

"Okay," she said; but there was huff in her voice. I am quite sure she went home later and told her friends about the odd fellow. Maybe she wrote a column about it? I do hope I wasn't talking to Miss Manners.

It is an odd compulsion, the first-name-on-sight compulsion. It has never tempted me, though I am far removed from my father's habits: he called his very closest friend by his last name. Evelyn Waugh said that he understood formality and understood intimacy, but did not understand informality. He died just about in the nick of time.

The stretch of informality reaches quite extraordinary lengths. Four years ago I hadn't caught the name of the imposing woman seated at my right at a dinner party in Switzerland. I sneaked a look at her place card (mine read, simply, "Bill") and read, "Bozo" ("Poza"?—I forget, exactly). Somehow, I just could not bring myself to address her as "Bozo" and I am glad I didn't, because an hour or two later I discovered that she was the Queen of Denmark.

Now the design of your first name invites a grudging concession for those bent on aggressive folksiness: nobody I know personally has ever called me "William." But the word itself suggests a slight gradation in the direction of formality, even as calling someone James instead of Jim, Timothy instead of Tim, is a minor deference to orthodoxy. When my father settled in South Carolina, a generation after he left Texas, he was plopped into the new informality. Granted, first-name use was restricted to social friends or professional associates. But I remember the agony he went through on being told that he must address his hostess at a dinner party by her nickname. He had a terrible time framing the word "Pussycat."

Not too far down the line, those of my generation will be gone. But any usher in the funeral parlor who beckons to my widow as "Patricia" may find himself the principal at the very next funeral, if after death I continue to wield those lethal powers I dispose of alive. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

Ex Pede Herculem

LOGIC ought to be sacred. That's why I have been on the alert ever since Yamaha named a motorcycle "Virago" and Shakespeare's symbol of unreliability ("false, false, false Cressid!") inspired a car.

How on earth did it happen? We can't blame it on "cultural differences." The companies are Japanese, but their advertising and PR firms are geared to the Western world. It is impossible to believe that these wildly wrong names could slip past the panoply of research and development, market testing, and "creative" meetings that go into such decisions. We can bet the connotations were known and discussed, but in the end someone probably said it won't hurt sales because the slobs don't know the difference and the eggheads will just write us snotty letters about the Trojan War.

The latest assault on logic is the opera-backed commercial. In the one for a recreational vehicle, we first see the product covered with mud, then a titanic inundation of water comes out of nowhere and washes it clean while a soprano voice sings "*Un bel dì*" from *Madama Butterfly*. The same aria is used in another ad for athletic shoes, sung to visuals of stouthearted runners straining heroically toward a finish line. What is the connection here? The aria is about a girl who has been jilted and is too dumb to realize it.

Another one, for a luxury car or an aftershave, I forget which, shows a woman in a slinky black evening dress running across the lawn of a palatial estate at sunrise while a soprano voice sings "*O mio babbino caro*" from Puccini's *Gianni Schicchi*. This aria has the melting quality of romantic passion but it isn't that at all. The title character of this one-act comic opera is a wily Tuscan peasant; the aria, sung by his daughter, starts, "Oh, my dearest Daddy," and is a plea for him to engage in trickery to get her a dowry.

Don't assume Madison Avenue is full of philistines: it isn't. They knew, all right, but they didn't care. Opera is perceived as classy, therefore products advertised with opera are perceived as classy, so don't worry about which aria you use as long as it "soars."

This might sound like a minor point in a country where millions can't even read, but remember little things mean a lot, or as the logician Aulus Gellius put it: *Ex pede Herculem*, "From the foot alone we may infer Hercules."

Contempt for logic grows daily. Nobody has "ideas" any more, just shattering mental jolts known as "wake-up calls." Books with titles like *You Just Don't Understand* and the daily crowing over people who "don't get it" betray an undeniable pride in flux and chaos. In *Earth in the Balance*, Al Gore condemns "the Cartesian model of the disembodied intellect," and the majority have accepted the feminist canard that logic is masculine (bad) and emotion is feminine (good). The new literary criticism demonstrates, point by unraveling point, that nothing means anything because every book now has a "subtext," and our kneejerk characterization of any utterance that makes no sense whatsoever is "thoughtful."

Americans have gotten the message that life is easier if they don't think straight. Aware that logic demolishes political correctness, they conclude that meaninglessness is the better part of wisdom and eagerly embrace fuzzy thinking as a refuge against charges of -ist, -ite, -phobe. Thus we have letters to the editor like this one in the *Washington Post*: "Mr. Maguire has a right to question the fairness of affirmative action, but his reference to a specific group's test scores was an unwarranted and malicious act."

The only time we even hear the L-word nowadays is when voters lie to exit polls and equally fuzzy pundits sigh, "There's no logic behind it."

Post hocky ergo propter hocky has hit the fan. Need an objection to the law barring HIV-positive persons from entering the country? Just say, as one activist did, "Travel doesn't cause HIV."

Need to make sure the whole world knows there is no connection whatsoever between you and your mind? Just go on *Nightline* and say, as Lani Guinier did: "Most important, I think, is not what I wrote but who I am."

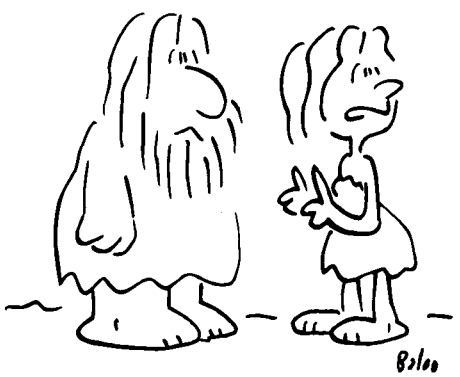
Need to destroy your own argument? Object to the implications of the politically correct language now used in Lamaze classes, where instructors now speak of "partners" or "moms and coaches" instead of "husbands" and "wives," and then write, as Mona Charen did: "Now, I do not disparage the sentiments expressed at all, merely the terminology."

IN AMERICA, when Birnam Wood moves to Dunsinane it brings along its own developers. Is it any wonder we got the Clintons? This gang says military "mission" when they mean up the creek without a paddle, and "moving deadline" for a date that will live in infamy just as soon as they decide what it is.

Significantly, after Billy Boop had his "spirited" bipartisan meeting about Somalia with congressional leaders, an aide describing the fray to reporters took eerie liberties with a name CBS recently bestowed on a regular segment of its evening news show. The meeting, said the aide, was "a good reality check."

Need an operatic aria for Hillary's health-care commercials? How about "*L'ora suono*" from *Don Carlo*? It means "Down with tyrants."

—FLORENCE KING



"Quick, down on all fours—here comes my father."

Miss King's first book, Southern Ladies and Gentlemen, *has recently been reissued in paperback (St. Martin's).*

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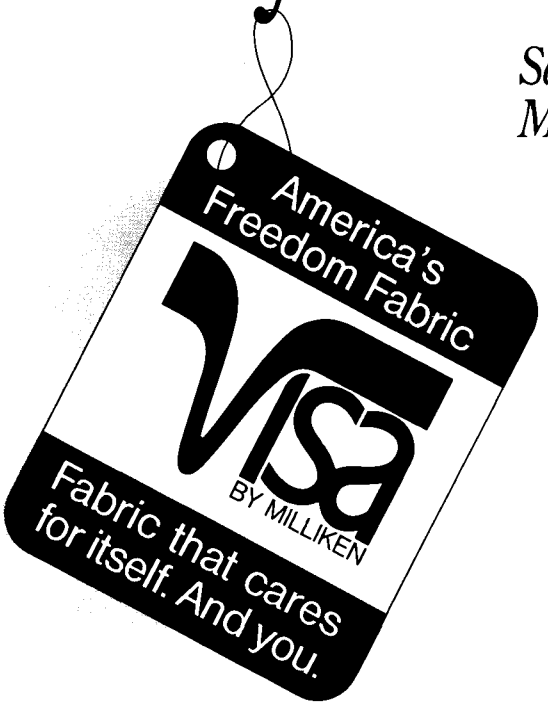

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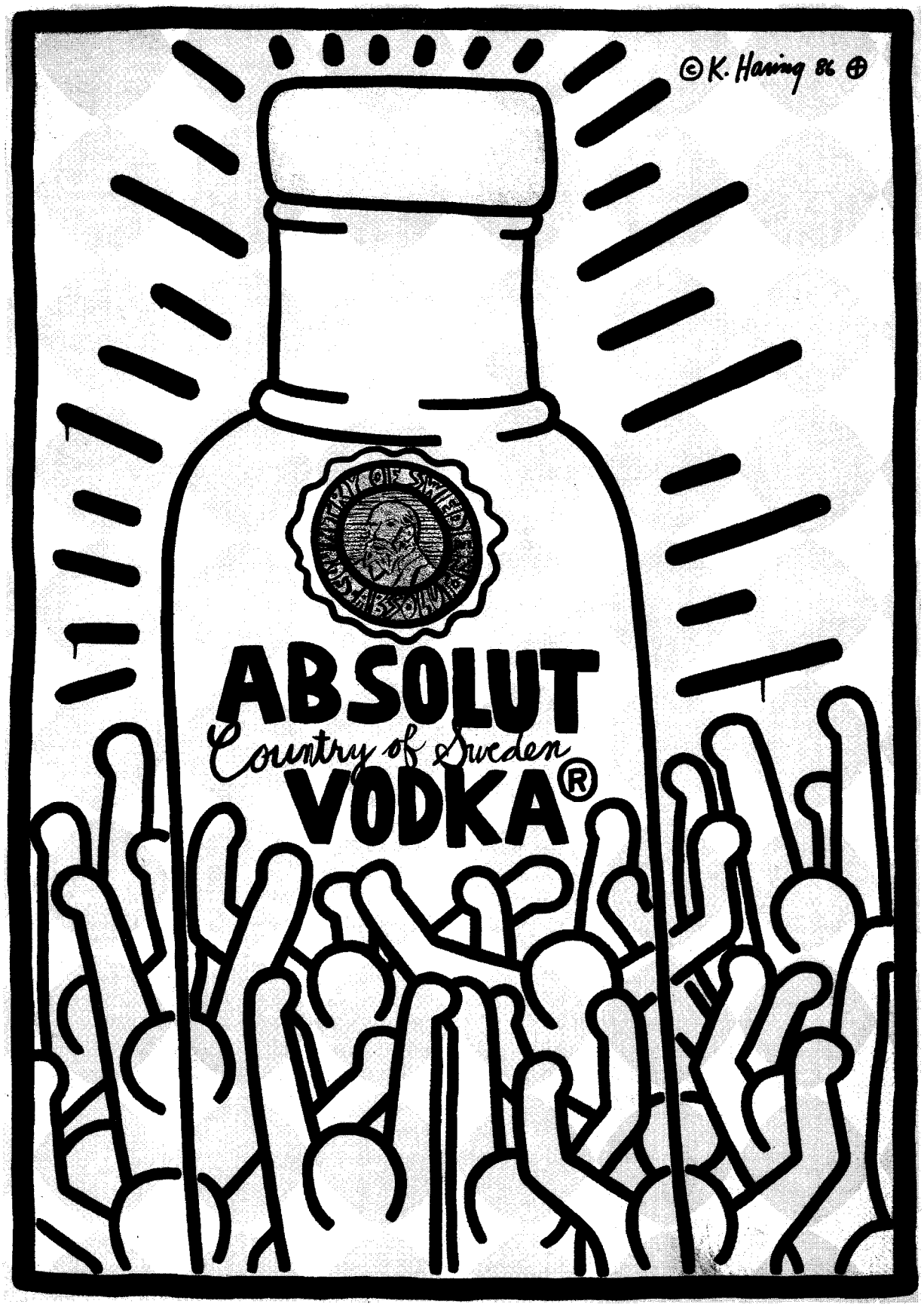

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